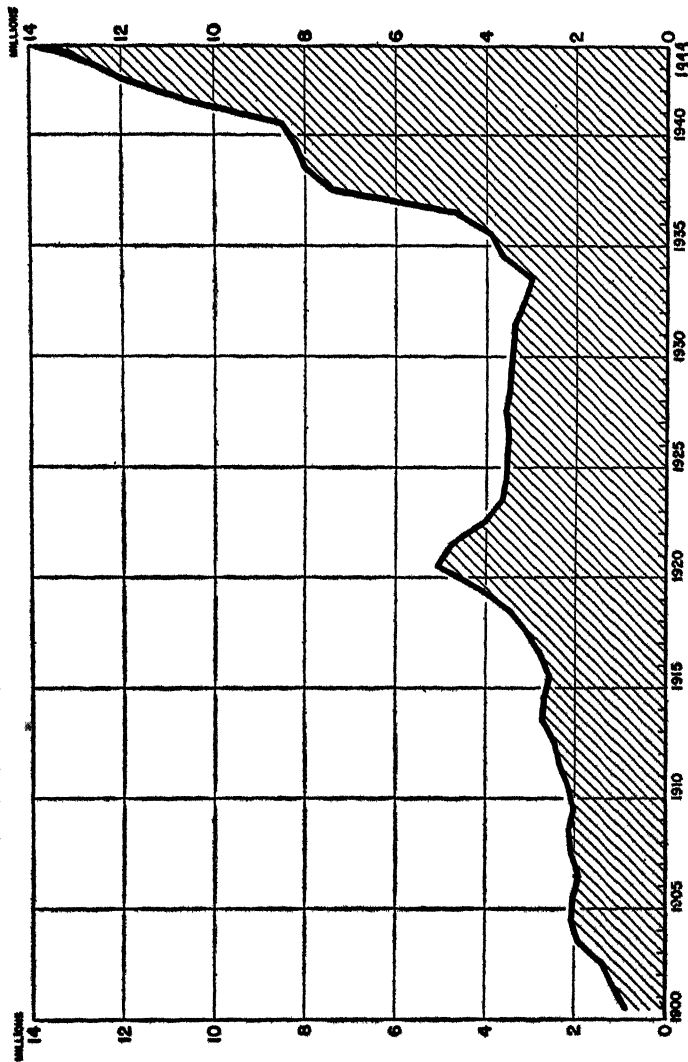


AMERICAN
LABOR UNIONS



MEMBERSHIP IN AMERICAN LABOR UNIONS



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AMERICAN ★ LABOR ★ ★ UNIONS ★

WHAT THEY ARE AND HOW THEY WORK

By FLORENCE PETERSON

*Professor of Social Economy
Bryn Mawr College*



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AMERICAN LABOR UNIONS

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D-X



Contents

PREFACE	xi
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Part I

GROWTH OF LABOR ORGANIZATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

CHAPTER I. A CENTURY'S DEVELOPMENT	1
Early Organizations	1
Expansion after the Civil War	2
The Order of the Knights of Labor	4
The American Federation of Labor	6
Employer Opposition to Unions	7
Government Interest in Labor Problems	9
Labor and World War I	10
Postwar Expansion and Recession	14
Stalemate in the Twenties	18
The Great Depression	22
CHAPTER II. A DECADE'S EXPANSION	23
Recovery in the New Deal	23
Division in Labor's Ranks	27
Union Expansion	29
Labor During World War II	31
Organized Labor Today	33

Part II

STRUCTURE AND INTERNAL GOVERNMENT OF LABOR ORGANIZATIONS

CHAPTER III. FEDERATED ORGANIZATIONS	41
American Federation of Labor	42

Departments of the American Federation of Labor	44
Congress of Industrial Organizations	50
Railroad Unions	52
City and State Central Bodies	54
 CHAPTER IV. INTERNATIONAL UNIONS	 57
International Unions and their Relation to Locals	57
Territorial Coverage of Internationals	59
Size and Jurisdiction	60
Internal Government	62
International Officers	65
Election of Officers	68
Craft Versus Industrial Unions	71
 CHAPTER V. LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS	 76
Size and Jurisdiction	76
Relation of Locals to their Internationals	77
Local Officers	78
Membership Meetings	80
Joint Boards and Councils	81
 CHAPTER VI. MEMBERSHIP QUALIFICATIONS	 84
Citizenship and Sex Qualifications	84
Negro Membership	86
Foremen and Supervisors	90
Apprentices	97
 CHAPTER VII. MEMBERSHIP RULES	 99
Acceptance into Union	100
Suspension and Reinstatement	102
Expulsion	103
Transfers and Withdrawals	107
Permit Cards	108
Classes of Membership	109
Retention of Membership While Unemployed	111
Membership during Military Service	111
 CHAPTER VIII. FINANCES AND DUES	 113
Cost of Administration	113
Financial Records	117
Dues and Assessments	119

CONTENTS

vii

Initiation Fees	123
Initiation Fees, Dues and Per Capita Tax Provisions in International Union Constitutions	126

Part III

EDUCATIONAL AND BENEFICIAL ACTIVITIES

CHAPTER IX. THE LABOR PRESS	147
General Types	147
Press Services	148
Publications of Federated Groups	148
Pamphlets	151
International Union Journals	152
CHAPTER X. EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF UNIONS	160
Apprentice and Vocational Training	161
Workers' Education	163
Public Relations	169
Education for Political Action	173
CHAPTER XI. CO-OPERATIVE AND BENEFIT ACTIVITIES	176
Producers' Co-operatives	176
Labor Banking	177
Consumers' Co-operatives	179
Insurance and Benefit Programs	179
Expenditures for Benefit Activities	185

Part IV

UNIONS AND EMPLOYERS

CHAPTER XII. BARGAINING WITH EMPLOYERS	187
Extent of Collective Bargaining	188
The Bargaining Unit	191
Factors Affecting the Size of the Bargaining Unit	191
Bargaining with Individual Employers	192
Industry-Wide Bargaining	193
Bargaining for Geographic Areas	195
The Building Trades	196
"Standard" Agreements and Union Labels	197

The Bargaining Process	198
Union Machinery	198
Employer Machinery	199
Outside Aid	200
Factual Aids to Bargaining	201
Provisions in Union Agreements	203
 CHAPTER XIII. LABOR DISPUTES	 211
Implications of Strike Action	211
Strikes during the Past 30 Years	212
Sit-Down Strikes	222
Jurisdictional Disputes	225
Union Rules Concerning Strikes	226
Strike Benefits	228
Strike Statistics 1916-1944	230
 CHAPTER XIV. ADJUSTMENT OF DISPUTES	 231
Settlement of Grievances under Employer-Union Agreements	231
Union Representatives	232
Employer Representatives	235
Joint Committees	235
Arbitration by Impartial Agencies	236
Strikes while an Agreement is in Effect	237
Adjustment of Disputes through Government Action	238
Federal Conciliation Service	239
State Conciliation Services	240
National (Railroad) Mediation Board	243
National Labor Relations Board	244
National War Labor Board	246

Part V

CHAPTER XV. GLOSSARY OF LABOR TERMS	248
CHAPTER XVI. UNIONS IN EACH INDUSTRY	276

APPENDICES

A. CONSTITUTION OF AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR	289
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CONTENTS

ix

B. CONSTITUTION OF CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS	309
C. SELECTED LIST OF GENERAL BOOKS ON LABOR UNIONS	317
D. DIRECTORY OF INTERNATIONAL UNIONS WITH 1944 MEMBERSHIP	319
INDEX	331

TABLES

Table	
I. Membership in American Labor Unions 1900-1944	56
II. International Unions Classified by Size	61
III. Initiation Fees and Dues Specified in Union Constitutions	128
IV. Expenditures for Benefit Services by AFL Unions and Railroad Brotherhoods	185
V. Extent of Collective Bargaining in Various Industries in 1944	189
VI. Work Stoppages Due to Labor Disputes, 1916-1944	230

CHARTS

Chart	
1. Membership in American Labor Unions 1900-1944	Frontispiece
2. Structure of Labor Unions	40
3. Cartoons in Labor Press	150
4. Type of Recognition Provided in Collective Agreements	204
5. Trend of Strikes 1926-1944	210
6. Cost of Living 1913-1944	220

Preface

The life of every person in the United States, whether engaged in business or the professions, whether a politician, housewife, farmer or worker himself, is affected in some way by the existence and activities of labor organizations. This will continue so long as we maintain a democratic form of government and a system of free enterprise in business, because organizations of workers are a natural concomitant of a competitive economy and an evidence of a free society.

Although all of us are more or less conscious of the presence and influence of labor organizations, few of us have much understanding of why and how they came to be such an important factor in our industrial and national life; fewer still have much knowledge of their mechanism, their rules of procedure and internal government. Those not connected with labor unions are prone to think of them in connection with isolated actions which receive headline notices in the daily press; union members naturally think of them in terms of what their own unions are doing for them on the job; students of labor problems are inclined to think of organized labor as an amorphous movement whose direction, for good or bad, is controlled by a few dominant leaders. These are important, but are fragments of the whole.

The purpose of this volume is to describe how labor unions, as organisms, perform their functions and conduct their daily affairs. There are a number of books on labor problems and the labor movement, and much literature, true and untrue, about individual labor leaders and particular actions of trade unions. This volume does not deal with those subjects commonly classified under "labor problems," nor is it an interpretative history of the labor movement. There has been no attempt to discuss the economic, political or sociological forces which have brought into being the modern labor union; neither does it discuss the labor leaders who have influenced the course of the trade union movement. The omission of these matters does not indicate that the author depreciates their importance, for personalities and circumstances are important factors in any movement. Nonetheless, the char-

acter and effectiveness of organized efforts are also strongly influenced by their internal mechanism and rules of operation.

The present volume, following a brief historical summary of the development of labor organizations in the United States, describes the structural characteristics of labor unions and their federated bodies, their rules and qualifications for membership, and their internal government and finances. The procedural arrangements of the various unions for dealing with employers and methods used to settle employer-employee disputes are discussed. The growing importance of the labor press and union educational activities are indicated. In Part V is a glossary of 260 labor terms now in common use, as well as a list of the various unions having membership in each important industry. In the Appendices are verbatim copies of the constitutions of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations and a directory of all International and National unions with their present addresses and membership.

The necessarily brief discussions on each subject are devoted primarily to revealing the customary practices and the more common characteristics of labor organizations, although individual unions are frequently mentioned either as illustrations of general types or as deviations from the prevailing practice. The discussions are based largely on the written word—the constitutions, by-laws, collective agreements, and literature of labor unions. One would be a novice in human affairs to assume that any formally adopted policies and rules—be they civil laws, declarations of faith, or statements of policy of any society or group within a society—are an accurate portrayal of the group's conduct at all times and under all circumstances. However, in spite of the obvious limitations inherent in any exposition which is largely based upon formally adopted rules and policies, any organization's fundamental laws are of supreme importance: they reveal its general character and aspirations and in the last analysis they are the guidepost for its course of action.

In this volume, the author has sought to present a maximum of factual information in a terse but readable form. Primarily intended for union members, employers, and others who are dealing with unions, students of labor problems might also find it a convenient textbook. For all who have occasion to use it, the author trusts it will contribute to a more exact knowledge and better understanding of labor unions, their procedures and activities.

It should perhaps be noted that while the author has made use of materials available in the Department of Labor, the factual findings and interpretations presented in this volume are entirely the responsibility of the author.

January, 1945

FLORENCE PETERSON

Part I. GROWTH OF LABOR ORGANIZATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

CHAPTER I A CENTURY'S DEVELOPMENT

EARLY ORGANIZATIONS

THE first organizations of labor came into being in this country during the 1790's when the carpenters and shoemakers in Philadelphia, printers in New York, and tailors in Baltimore organized into societies which had most of the characteristics of our present local trade unions. They bargained over wages and hours, demanded closed-shop conditions, engaged in strikes, boycotts and picketing, paid strike benefits, regulated apprentices, and employed "walking delegates" to see that terms agreed upon were enforced. Similar organizations in these and other crafts developed in other cities during the next decades.

These early workingmen's societies were local in scope. There was, however, some interchange of information among the societies of a given trade, and some concerted efforts to deal with the problem of traveling journeymen who competed with the resident workers. Upon several occasions, too, a society in one city sent money to help strikers in another city.

As local craft societies became more numerous and active there developed a growing feeling that more united efforts were needed to alleviate some of the worst ills which beset the workingman of that day. This found expression in the federation of the various societies within a city into what they called "Trades' Unions." These local "trades' unions" were originally formed to provide common support during strikes, frequently maintaining a common strike fund accumulated through per capita taxes from each member society. One of the chief activities of these trades' unions were drives for the ten-hour day. They were also concerned with broad social reforms such as free public schools, abolition of imprisonment for debt, and universal manhood suffrage.

In 1834-1836 several conventions were held in an effort to unite all local unions and city federations throughout the country. During these years the local societies of shoemakers, printers, carpenters and weavers united into what they called "national" organizations although, in reality, their membership was limited to the larger eastern cities. These national organizations, as well as most of the local unions, collapsed during the panic of 1837 and the ensuing years of business dislocation. New workingmen's organizations appeared during the forties, but these were concerned more with co-operatives, land reform, and general social improvement programs than they were with collective bargaining.

Numerous local trade unions came into existence with the general expansion of industrial activity and rising prices following the discovery and use of California gold. In contrast to the workingmen's associations established in the forties, their major concern was bargaining for better wages and hours. Many of these unions joined other local unions within the same trade to form nation-wide organizations. It was during the fifties that several of our present-day unions had their beginnings: the typographers (1852), hat finishers (1854), machinists and blacksmiths (1857), and molders (1859). The latter became the first International union in 1861 when some Canadian molders' unions affiliated with it.

All labor organizations suffered a serious setback in the depression which began in 1857 and continued until after the beginning of the Civil War. Unemployment and wage cuts affected union treasuries and morale and, as in previous depressions, few of them were able to survive.

EXPANSION AFTER THE CIVIL WAR

Within a few years after the outbreak of the Civil War many new local organizations and several national unions came into existence as a means of combating the soaring prices resulting from the issuing of "greenbacks" and the lag in wage increases. There was a further interest in organization after the close of the war when returning soldiers found their skilled hand jobs had been supplanted by factory and machine production, when existing work standards were being menaced by the influx of immigrants willing to work for low wages, and when improved railroad transportation made it possible for goods manufactured in low-cost areas to be brought into higher wage markets.

During the decade following the Civil War numerous local unions

were established throughout the industrial areas. In the larger cities these locals were united into city trades' assemblies which looked after matters of general interest to all workers. A considerable number of national craft unions were also established, among them being the locomotive engineers, cigar makers, tailors, carpenters, painters, and bricklayers. A progenitor of the modern industrial union was the Knights of St. Crispin, a shoe workers' union founded in 1869 for the purpose of protecting journeymen against the influx of "green hands" into their industry. With its 50,000 members, it was probably the largest union in existence at that time. Within a decade, however, the Crispins had disintegrated due to drastic wage cuts and the introduction of new machinery which they were unable to prevent.

Accompanying the two movements toward united efforts—the city centrals of all local unions and the national organization of all locals of a given craft—were efforts to establish a national body which would include all the national unions and the city centrals. After several unsuccessful attempts, there was formed in 1866 the National Labor Union, a loose federation of national trade unions, city trades assemblies, local unions, as well as some reform organizations which were not strictly concerned with labor problems. It directed its chief attention to the eight-hour day, popularizing the slogan "whether you work by the piece or work by the day, decreasing the hours increases the pay." Hoping to use government employment as an opening wedge for its adoption throughout private industry, the National Labor Union sought and finally succeeded in 1868 in getting an eight-hour bill passed for government laborers and mechanics.¹ As the National Labor Union turned more and more to political action and began to espouse varied kinds of reform measures, social and fiscal, the trade unions became dissatisfied and withdrew. The National Labor Union finally disbanded in 1872, after an unsuccessful attempt to form a National Labor and Reform party.

Several industrial congresses were held during the following years in an attempt to unify the labor forces throughout the country. None of them met for more than two or three times or evolved much beyond paper organizations.

During the prolonged depression of the 1870's unions again waned, losing many bitter strikes called in protest against successive wage cuts,

¹ This act was largely disregarded. The first effective eight-hour law on public works was enacted in 1892.

introduction of new machinery, and other innovations which tended to take away jobs or depress working conditions. Strikes were particularly prevalent among shoe workers, cigar makers, and textile and iron workers. Many striking textile workers in New England were replaced with French-Canadian immigrants; others were forced to sign agreements to join no labor organization as the price of re-employment. Although the strikes of cigar workers in New York attracted wide public attention to the evils of the sweatshop system, they were unsuccessful. A seven months' strike of anthracite miners in 1874 against wage reductions resulted in the breaking up of the union-agreement system which had existed for five years. The 1877 railroad strikes against wage reductions, irregularity of employment, and displacement of engineers caused by the introduction of the double-header freight trains of 34 cars, were marked by much violence and, for the first time in this country, federal troops were used to quell strikes.

THE ORDER OF THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR

To circumvent employers' lockouts and blacklists, workers at this time were led to meet secretly and to organize a type of association so clothed in ritual, sign-grips and passwords that "no spy of the boss can find his way in the lodge room to betray his fellows." One of these organizations was the Noble Order of the Knights of Labor, which was established by some Philadelphia tailors in 1869. Soon the tailors were joined by shoemakers (mostly remnants of the St. Crispin lodges), carpenters, miners, railroad, and other organized and unorganized workers.

During the 1880's the Knights of Labor, having revoked its secrecy features, became a spectacular mass movement which included workers of all trades and degrees of skill. Discontented farmers, professional persons, and even some employers responded to its appeal for the amelioration of the hardships of the common man under the rallying cry: "An injury to one is the concern of all." The general and far-reaching aim of the Order was the substitution of a co-operative society for the existing wage system, which it hoped could be attained through education and legislation. More immediately, it sought improvement in wages and hours and abolition of convict and child labor.

Structurally, the Knights of Labor was composed of local assemblies (organized along either craft or mixed lines), combined into district

assemblies² which had sole authority within their respective jurisdictions, and finally the General Assembly with "full and final jurisdiction." These mixed assemblies bargained with the employers and conducted strikes, frequently calling out workers in various trades to aid strikes within a given trade or plant. Through such mixed assemblies, the superior bargaining power of the skilled workers could be utilized to help the unskilled workers.

The Knights of Labor reached its peak following the southwest railroad (Gould system) shopmen's strike in 1885 when, for the first time, officials of a large corporation met with and negotiated an agreement with the organization. This success brought enthusiastic response from workers throughout the country and the Knights of Labor membership increased sevenfold within one year; in one month over 500 new assemblies were organized.³ By the autumn of 1886 the Order had over 700,000 members in more than 5,500 local assemblies—the equivalent of almost 10 per cent of the existing industrial wage earners.

Its day of power was brief. Railroad strikes in 1886 met with disastrous defeat, causing almost complete elimination of the Knights of Labor on the western railroads. United opposition of employers brought defeat in numerous strikes for the eight-hour day which resulted in the disintegration of entire assemblies. Other members lost interest as wages and job opportunities improved with the upturn in business during the late eighties. Most important, however, was the disaffection of most of the skilled workers who were leaving the mixed assemblies in the Knights' organization and forming trade unions. By 1900 the Order had practically ceased to exist as a national movement although a number of local and district assemblies continued active for several decades.

In spite of its organizational and other weaknesses, the Knights of Labor proved to be the first national labor organization in this country

² Opposition by some of the trade groups against the mixed district assemblies forced the Knights of Labor to allow them to organize into district and national trade assemblies. Thus the telegraphers, the window glass and shoe workers finally obtained national craft autonomy although the general officers of the Knights of Labor did everything they could to discourage trade autonomy.

³ Grand Master Powderly said regarding this: "In 1885 we had about 80,000 members in good standing; in one year the number jumped to 700,000, of which at least 400,000 came in from curiosity and caused more damage than good." (Terence V. Powderly, *The Path I Trod*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1940.)

The newspapers at that time, greatly alarmed over the popularity of the mass movement, quoted a membership of 2½ millions.

to remain active for more than a year or two. Its influence extended beyond its immediate membership and beyond the fifteen years of its active national existence. Its chief contribution was one of education: workers learned the strength and weaknesses of the One Big Union type of organization and the general public, as never before, was made conscious of the bitter discontent which existed among large sections of industrial wage earners.

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

While the skilled craftsmen were at first attracted by the high idealism of the Knights' philosophy, they soon became dissatisfied with its all-inclusive membership and the authority exercised by the mixed assemblies whose decisions frequently ran counter to their particular interests. They complained that local agreements were negotiated by persons unfamiliar with their trades and that frequently they were asked to participate in sympathetic strikes in which they had no direct concern.

The conflict of interest between skilled craftsmen working with tools and the mass of semiskilled and unskilled wage earners led, in 1881, to the formation of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions, which in 1886 became the American Federation of Labor. Samuel Gompers of the Cigarmakers' Union was chosen the first president of the Federation, continuing in that office, with the exception of one year, until his death in 1924.

In contrast to the mixed assemblies of the Knights of Labor, complete autonomy was retained by each organized craft in the American Federation of Labor. Each National union (International if it included Canadian locals) had its own constitution, its own rules for internal government, and its own procedures for dealing with employers. In no case were outsiders—that is, persons not working at the trade but in sympathy with the union's aims—admitted to active membership.

In contrast to previous depression periods, the unions affiliated with the AFL made substantial gains during the prolonged depression of the 1890's. The Federation launched an aggressive eight-hour day campaign in which the carpenters' union served as spearhead. Although not entirely successful, the eight-hour day was won by most of the building and printing trades' unions. As a result of a prolonged strike in 1897, the United Mine Workers obtained union recognition and the eight-hour day in the central competitive area.

Upon the return of business prosperity at the beginning of the century, there was a further expansion in union organization and in collective bargaining. In the foundry and machinery industries, industry-wide bargaining was established between the unions and the employers' associations. In 1902, with the assistance of a federal government commission, collective bargaining arrangements were begun in the anthracite areas. Membership in the American Federation of Labor increased from 350,000 in 1899 to over 1,675,000 in 1904, and some two dozen new National and International unions were established.

By 1904 there were no less than 90 stable National unions most of which, except the railroad and postal unions, were affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. With the exception of the miners, brewery, garment, textile and shoe workers, practically all of them were craft unions. In the garment, textile and shoe unions, moreover, craft distinctions were usually followed among their local organizations.

There was little growth in organization for several years following the rapid expansion after the turn of the century. About 1910 there was revived activity on the part of a number of the unions, especially those in the coal mining, building, clothing and railroad industries. A successful strike of the miners in the central competitive field in 1910 paved the way for the restoration, in 1912, of the Interstate agreement which had broken down in 1906 after nine years' operation. A successful strike of anthracite miners in 1912 strengthened the bargaining relationship in that branch of the industry.

Strikes in the women's clothing industry in New York and Philadelphia in 1909 and 1910 culminated in the signing of the Protocol agreement which laid the basis for the establishment of employer-union self-government in the industry. A year later recognition was secured from the most important men's clothing company in Chicago following a prolonged strike. During this and other strikes in New York City, dissatisfaction with the union leadership developed, which resulted, in 1914, in the formation of a new union—the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

EMPLOYER OPPOSITION TO UNIONS

While the skilled workers in industries characterized by hand tools and small employers were able to establish new unions, factory and

mill workers were facing the powerful opposition of large corporations which were assuming ever-increasing importance in American industry. The American Railway Union was virtually extinguished after the strike in 1894 in which it faced the combined opposition of the Pullman Company and the Railway Managers' Association.⁴

Two years previously the Amalgamated Iron and Steel Workers, the most powerful trade union in existence at that time, had suffered a disastrous defeat in its strike at Homestead, Pa., against the Carnegie Steel Company in protest against a wage reduction. Thereafter one large mill after another was put on a non-union basis. After the formation of the U.S. Steel Corporation in 1901, and its adoption of a vigorous antiunion policy,⁵ the once strong Iron and Steel Workers' Union was practically eliminated from all the major steel concerns in the country. Organized labor received another setback in the meat-packing strike in 1904, which marked the defeat of several years' efforts to obtain collective bargaining in that expanding industry.

The influence and prestige of one large corporation was instrumental in driving unionization from the steel industry; in industries made up of many independent companies the employers combined into trade associations to combat the unions. Such organizations as the National Founders' Association, the National Metal Trades' Association, and the Structural Erectors' Association not only refused to enter into agreements with unions but engaged in activities directed toward their complete destruction. Local employers' associations and "citizens' alliances" also came into existence, their chief function being to break up strikes and otherwise aid employers who were having labor difficulties. In 1902 was organized the American Anti-Boycott Association, a secret body of manufacturers who sought to attack

⁴ The Pullman strike is significant in labor history because of the numerous injunctions issued by the federal courts upon the initiative of the Department of Justice, and because President Cleveland sent United States troops to Chicago in spite of the protest of the governor of the state.

⁵ A Congressional Investigating Committee, ten years after the adoption of this policy, said: "the great bulk of American union laboring men in the iron and steel industry understood they were not wanted at the works of the U.S. Steel Corporation. The process of filling the places of these union laborers is interesting and important . . . Southern Europe was appealed to. Hordes . . . poured into the United States. They . . . knew absolutely nothing about iron and steel manufacture but they were sufficient to fight the labor unions." (Page 128, Report #1127, House of Representatives, 62d Congress, 2d Session.)

unions through the courts.⁶ About the same time the National Association of Manufacturers, originally organized for purely trade purposes, began to combat trade unions,⁷ chiefly through political and legislative means.

Paralleling these positive and belligerent campaigns against unions was the indirect effect of scientific management which was then being popularized and installed by Frederick Taylor and his followers. Scientific management cut into union morale in two ways: The unions' opposition to its implied speed-up and lessening of job opportunities through improved processes caused many employers to increase their determination to do away with the unions. Secondly, the wage incentive plans tended to discourage group loyalties and solidarity by encouraging individual workmen to seek better wages through their individual efforts on the job rather than through collective bargaining. The welfare programs which some employers were just beginning to adopt were a further means of winning employees away from "outside" unions.

GOVERNMENT INTEREST IN LABOR PROBLEMS

While the labor movement was struggling to combat employer anti-union campaigns and adverse public reaction to the violence which had attended some of the recent strikes, the government was showing new interest in employer-employee relations. After years of effort, labor won the prestige of a Cabinet post in the federal government, whose especial duty it was "to foster, promote and develop the welfare of the wage earners of the United States."⁸ In 1914 was passed the Clayton Act, which labor hoped and expected would free it from what it considered to be judicial persecution under the antitrust laws. Two years previously, the Commission on Industrial Relations had been established by act of Congress, largely as an outcome of the alarm

⁶ Among the many cases this association took through the courts was the famous Danbury Hatters case (1908), in which the Sherman Antitrust law was invoked against the Hatters' Union, because of its nation-wide boycott. The court held the individual members of the union responsible to the full amount of their individual property for triple damages to the company.

⁷ Usually through subsidiary organizations such as the Citizens' Industrial Association of America, the National Council for Industrial Defense, the National Industrial Council.

⁸ The act creating the United States Department of Labor was signed by President Taft just before his term expired in 1913.

occasioned by the bomb explosion in the Los Angeles Times Building (1910) for which officers of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers had confessed responsibility.

The public hearings of the commission "to discover the underlying causes of dissatisfaction in the industrial situation"⁹ aroused a good deal of sympathetic interest in the conditions of wage earners generally. First hand testimony about such occurrences as the "Ludlow massacre"¹⁰ enabled the public to learn not only about the working conditions which were causing industrial disputes, but the methods pursued by some employers and local officials in suppressing the workers' efforts to better their conditions. Of particular moment to organized labor was the finding by the majority of the commission that one of the four basic causes of industrial unrest was the "denial of the right and opportunity to form effective (labor) organizations."¹¹ Other reasons cited for the unrest were: unjust distribution of wealth and income, unemployment, and the denial of justice in the creation, adjudication and administration of law.

LABOR AND WORLD WAR I

The unions lost some members during the depression which began in 1913 and continued several months after the outbreak of war in Europe, but they expanded again following the improvement in business due to war orders. The New York men's clothing market was brought under agreement for the first time in 1915 and, in spite of many difficulties in maintaining the agreement, the 48-hour week was secured the following year. The railroad workers, after a threat to strike, obtained the eight-hour day through passage of the Adamson Act in September, 1916. Federal intervention in this dispute presaged

⁹ The hearings occupied 154 days, at which testimony was heard from 740 representatives of employers, workers, and other interests. The reports included 11 volumes, covering every aspect of wages, hours, and working conditions.

¹⁰ During a strike by the United Mine Workers against the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, the strikers had been evicted from company houses and had settled in tent colonies on adjacent land. On April 20, 1914, militia fired upon one of these colonies, the Ludlow Camp, and a number of persons, including women and children, were killed.

¹¹ Final Report of the Commission on Industrial Relations, Washington, D.C., 1915, p. 254.

the increasing responsibility the government was to assume in the ensuing war years.

The American Federation of Labor's prompt assurance of co-operation with the government upon its entry into the war smoothed the way for the expansion in union organization which followed. Although the AFL opposed the compulsory conscription act of 1917 as being contrary to its fundamental principle of voluntary relations of a free people, after its passage it officially "accepted the action taken by Congress as necessary in carrying out the purposes for which this country had entered the war." President Gompers had accepted a place on the advisory commission to the Council of National Defense late in 1916.¹²

In March, 1917, almost a month before the United States declared war, representatives of most of the unions met in Washington where they voted unqualified support to the government in the event of war and drew up a statement of labor's war policy. This statement expressed the demand that the organized labor movement be recognized by the government as the representative of all wage earners, including those "who have not yet organized," and that organized labor be given representation on all agencies determining and administering policies of national defense.

The principle of labor representation on government committees was accepted. Never clearly defined was the policy with respect to organized labor's status in private industry—even in those industries upon which the government was directly dependent for carrying on the war. The Council of National Defense accepted the principle adopted by its labor advisory committee (April 2, 1917) that "neither employer nor employees shall endeavor to take advantage of the country's necessities to change existing standards." The Secretary of Labor, who was also a member of the council, explained this as meaning that "where efforts to organize the workers are not interfered with and where a scale of wages is recognized that maintains the present standard of living, . . . for the time being no stoppage of work should take place for the purpose of forcing recognition of the union."

¹² The Council of National Defense was established by the Army Appropriation Act of December, 1916. Early in 1917 the general advisory commission established an advisory committee on labor, with Mr. Gompers as chairman. The labor advisory committee, appointed by Mr. Gompers, consisted of over a hundred representatives of labor, capital, officials and members of organizations interested in social and industrial problems, as well as government officials and specialists.

Although the no-strike policy was formally adopted by the leaders of the American Federation of Labor, there were numerous strikes for recognition and closed shop as well as for wage increases. Early in the war special government boards were established to handle disputes in certain industries of crucial importance. Largely in response to requests from labor, a War Labor Conference Board was appointed toward the end of the first year of our entry into war, to study and make recommendations concerning the industrial relations situation throughout industry. At its suggestion, in April, 1918, the National War Labor Board, with tripartite membership, was established to assist in the prevention and settlement of disputes.

The position of workers in organization activities was strengthened by the declaration of policy of the War Labor Conference Board, which was adopted by the NWLB, namely, that "the right of workers to organize in trade unions and to bargain collectively, through chosen representatives, is recognized and affirmed. This right shall not be denied, abridged, or interfered with by the employers in any manner whatsoever." Accompanying this positive declaration, however, was the statement that "the workers, in the exercise of their right to organize, shall not use coercive measures of any kind to induce persons to join their organizations, nor to induce employers to bargain or to deal therewith." Another statement specified that employers were not required to deal through union representatives who were not employees of the company unless such had been the practice previously.

This latter provision opened the way for the rapid growth in employees' works councils which became a formidable rival of trade unions. These works councils (later more generally called employee representation plans or company unions) multiplied rapidly, some being installed by employers to avoid dealing with trade unions, others being established by award of government boards as an expedient compromise to firms which would have no other form of collective dealing.

In spite of this encouragement to works councils, distinct advantages to trade unions resulted from the adoption of the principle of collective bargaining by the National War Labor Board. In addition, labor was in a strategic position as production demands increased in the face of decreasing numbers of available workers caused by curtailment of immigration and enlistment in the military forces. In spite of the limited labor supply and keen competition for workers, however, wages in many trades did not keep up with increasing living costs, which

rose 25 per cent from 1914 to our entry into war, and another 35 per cent during the 19 months we were engaged in the war.

With jobs plentiful enough to remove the fear of discharge and with sufficient grounds for discontent to encourage workers to seek to better their wages and hours, the established unions were able to carry on successful organization drives. Except in the steel industry, the unions connected with most of the industries important to the war effort made significant gains. The building and metal trades unions expanded and, upon the intervention of the government, recognition was obtained from the large meat packers. The seamen were successful in getting agreements everywhere except on the Great Lakes, and the bituminous coal miners were able to extend their central competitive agreement into other areas. The shipbuilding unions obtained recognition and the railroad brotherhoods were equally successful during the time the government took over the operation of the railroads.

The Industrial Workers of the World. While the AFL and railroad unions were making notable gains, the war witnessed the virtual disappearance of the rival labor movement which had been active during the decade preceding the war, namely, the Industrial Workers of the World. The IWW, formally launched in 1905, was a "one big union" made up of the Western Federation of Miners¹³ and hitherto unorganized migratory workers of the wheat fields and lumber camps of the Northwest. It was a direct actionist movement which was opposed to the signing of collective bargaining agreements with employers. While its long-time program sought the substitution for existing government of a workers' society in which the unions would own and operate all industry, its immediate efforts were directed toward improving conditions on the job.

At first largely confined to the unskilled workers of the West and Middle West, in 1912 the IWW expanded into the East, especially among the foreign-born, low-wage textile workers. These campaigns, however, brought no lasting organizations. In the West, the IWW remained active although its ranks were depleted by group secessions and withdrawals of prominent leaders.

¹³ A metal miners' union organized in 1893. Its many bitter strikes against strongly organized employers who frequently had the active support of the local governments had made many of its members antigovernment. The more conservative faction gained control of the union in 1907 and the Western Federation of Miners withdrew from the Industrial Workers of the World.

As a consequence of its antiwar position, the Industrial Workers of the World were suspected and accused of acts inimical to the pursuit of the war program, although the IWW organizers maintained that their numerous strikes were directed toward improving working conditions. Through action on the part of both the federal Department of Justice and local governments, most of its leaders were imprisoned and headquarters closed subsequent to our entry into the war. In the Northwest logging camps, where it had been most active, a representative of the War Department was successful in replacing the IWW with an organization composed of both workers and employers—the Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen—which remained in existence for more than twenty years.

POSTWAR EXPANSION AND RECESSION

The close of the war in 1918 meant an end to active government participation in labor relations as well as the unions' release from the wartime restraints. With the continued expansion in business and the rise in living costs, which increased 27 per cent during the 18 months following the signing of the Armistice, workers continued to join the unions in increasing numbers. In 1919 and 1920 more than one and a half million workers joined the various unions, bringing the total membership to over five millions. This represented a peak not surpassed until 1937. Almost every union gained during this period but the largest increases were in the transportation, metals and machinery unions. All the railroad unions made notable gains, as well as the seamen, longshoremen, teamsters and street-railwaymen. The machinists more than doubled, and the railway carmen (car building and repairing) almost quadrupled their membership during those two years.

The unions' efforts to expand collective bargaining conditions led to many bitter disputes. In 1919 over four million workers were involved in strikes, the greatest in any year in United States history.¹⁴ While a number of these strikes were for improved working conditions in already organized trades and industries, many of them were efforts to obtain recognition or to strengthen a tottering collective bargaining arrangement. The number of sympathetic strikes evidenced a unity of purpose among the various organized groups: The first general or city-wide strike of any size to occur in the United States up to that time

¹⁴ See Chap. XIII.

took place in Seattle when all the union members stopped work for several days to aid the metal trades workers' strike in the local shipyards. The Actors' Equity was assisted by the other organized trades connected with the theater in its successful strike for recognition.

Owing to the industrial unrest and the difficulties incident to the many adjustments necessary to get industry back on a peacetime basis, President Wilson in October, 1919, called a conference of representatives of employers, labor and the public.¹⁵ to "discover such methods as had not already been tried out of bringing capital and labor into close co-operation." The conference immediately split on the question of collective bargaining and trade unions. Mr. Gompers submitted a resolution of eleven fundamental propositions, among which was the right of wage earners to organize into unions and to bargain collectively. The employer group adopted a resolution including "the right of employers to deal or not to deal with men or groups of men who are not his employees," stating that the arbitrary use of collective bargaining "was a menace to the institution of free peoples." The representatives of the public endorsed the principle of collective bargaining but insisted that employee representative plans be included as proper collective bargaining agencies. Unable to arrive at any common agreement on the fundamental basis of all employer-employee relations, the conference broke up within a few days.

Previous to the calling of this conference, a union organizing campaign had been undertaken in the steel industry and an industry-wide strike had been called. While unionization had been particularly successful in most of the industries directly concerned with war production, industrial relations in the steel industry remained throughout the war much as they had been during the preceding twenty years. At the 1918 American Federation of Labor Convention, 24 unions having jurisdiction in the steel industry appointed a National Committee for the Organization of the Iron and Steel Industry. The organizing campaign met with widespread response from the steel workers, especially those working on twelve-hour day and seven-day week shifts. The

¹⁵ Samuel Gompers appointed the 19 labor representatives who were chosen from both the AFL unions and the Railroad Brotherhoods. The Chamber of Commerce, the National Industrial Conference Board, farmer and banker organizations appointed the employer representatives. Among the 22 "public" representatives appointed by President Wilson were J. D. Rockefeller, Jr., Bernard Baruch of the Stock Exchange, Elbert H. Gary, chairman of the U.S. Steel Corporation, and half a dozen other manufacturers

employers responded with wholesale discharges of the new union members. Although President Wilson offered to intervene, the industry, especially the U.S. Steel Corporation, remained firm in its open-shop stand. A strike was thereupon called (Sept. 22, 1919), which affected every steel-producing center and involved approximately 367,000 workers.

Numbers of the steel workers at that time were foreign-speaking, first-generation immigrants,¹⁶ and the employers and public press were able to persuade many of the native-born workers that it was not a "strike for Americans." Unity was further weakened by the lukewarm attitude of the officers of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, who from the beginning had been skeptical about the benefits such a general strike might bring to their own members, who were largely the skilled workers in independent plants. With ranks divided and resources exhausted, the defeated strikers gradually returned to work. For fifteen years thereafter there was no serious effort to organize this basic industry.

The Open-Shop Movement. The employers' success in the steel strike encouraged the movement then getting under way to destroy unionism throughout all industry. Manufacturers' associations, boards of trade, chambers of commerce, builders' associations and bankers' associations, so-called "citizens' associations," and even a farmers' organization, the National Grange, united in a program which they called the "American Plan" to save workers from "the shackles of organization to their own detriment."¹⁷ Open-shop organizations existed in practically every industrial center in the country, those in California, Illinois and Michigan being especially active. In addition to conducting "patronize the open shop" campaigns, some extended direct aid to employers such as maintaining blacklists of union members and furnishing money, spies and strikebreakers to employers involved in strikes.

Union after union lost its war and postwar gains under the combined onslaught of the antiunion drives and the wage cuts introduced during the postwar depression of 1921-1922. Early in 1921 the "Big

¹⁶ A report of the U.S. Immigration Commission in 1908 (Vol. VIII, p. 38) stated that almost 58 per cent of the employees in the iron and steel industry were foreign born, an additional 13 per cent were native born of foreign fathers, 5 per cent were Negroes. Eleven years later the proportion of foreign born was probably somewhat reduced.

¹⁷ In a statement of policy of the American Bankers' Association, the magazine *Industry*, Jan. 1, 1921.

Five" packing companies declared they no longer would be bound by the union agreement or the labor administrator whom they had reluctantly accepted during the war. When the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen went on strike in protest against successive wage cuts, the companies established company unions and the packing industry once again became open shop.

The U.S. Shipping Board and the private shipowners, a few days previous to the expiration of the seamen's agreement in April, 1921, demanded the abolishment of the three-watch system, the privilege of union representatives to enter docks or board vessels, and the withdrawal of union preferential hiring. The two months' strike following this demand was lost; seamen returned to the twelve-hour day, and the once powerful seamen's union was soon reduced to less than one-fifth its former size.

Even the strongly organized building trades did not escape the anti-union drives. When the building trades' unions in San Francisco rejected a wage reduction awarded by an arbitration board,¹⁸ a general lockout occurred. When work was resumed it was under open-shop conditions which remained in effect throughout the twenties. In Chicago, a citizens' committee organized by the Illinois Manufacturers' Association and the Chicago Chamber of Commerce was successful for several years in compelling unions and builders to maintain open-shop conditions and to accept wage rates determined by an arbitrator, Judge Landis. After a few years, however, many contractors had broken away and by 1927 the Building Trades Council was able to re-establish union-shop conditions on most of the building projects in Chicago.

In a few industries efforts to break up the unions failed, notably in the New York men and women's clothing industry where both unions were forced to engage in prolonged strikes and a number of lawsuits in order to maintain their collective bargaining relations. The open-shop attack in the book and job printing industry turned on the issue of the 44-hour week, which the union employers had promised would go into effect in May, 1921. Prolonged and numerous strikes resulted when the employers refused to put it into effect. These strikes¹⁹ were

¹⁸ The rejection was based on the ground that the question of wage increases had been referred to the Board of Arbitration and that in awarding decreases the board had exceeded its authority.

¹⁹ The Typographical Union disbursed over \$15,800,000 and the Pressmen's Union almost \$1,000,000 between 1921 and 1924 for strike purposes. (International Typographical Union Proceedings, Report of President to 69th Session, 1924, p. 24.)

successful in obtaining the 44-hour week and in maintaining collective bargaining in that section of the industry, though there was a marked decentralization of the industry and in the new locations many companies operated open shops.

In spite of occasional victories for the unions, employers' open-shop drives, aided by the postwar depression, resulted in large losses to organized labor. Union membership dropped from a peak of over 5 million in 1920 to 3½ million in 1924 and, contrary to all similar experience in the past, union membership continued to decline after the return of business prosperity.

STALEMATE IN THE TWENTIES

The decline in union membership during the prosperous years between the postwar depression and the business crash in 1929, is accounted for chiefly by the considerable loss in membership in a few of the larger unions in industries where there was declining employment. Most of the craft unions, subsequent to the losses incurred by the termination of wartime production, were able to maintain and even increase their membership. Almost all the printing trades unions, for instance, had a higher membership in 1929 than at any time in the past. The building trades unions, reflecting the building boom of the twenties, not only recovered their postwar depression losses but by 1929 had a membership exceeding that of any of the war years.

Union membership in coal and metal mining, on the other hand, was reduced by half and in the clothing industries by one-third. Most of this loss was due to the general decline in numbers of persons engaged in these industries, as well as a shift in production to nonunion areas at the expense of organized centers.²⁰

The chief reason for the absence of trade union growth during the twenties was the failure to organize the expanding mass production industries. New machines and processes were substituting semiskilled machine tenders for skilled craftsmen working with tools. The bulk of the trade unions were composed of skilled craftsmen and few of

²⁰ The average number of persons employed in bituminous coal mines decreased from 705,000 in 1923 to 503,000 in 1929. This represented a general decline of 27 per cent compared to a 40 per cent decline in average employment in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois—the most strongly organized areas.

them made any serious attempts to broaden their field of interest to include the new type of factory worker. Whole industries, such as automobile and rubber, remained untouched; in others, such as steel, electric products, furniture and glass manufacture, only a fraction of certain groups of skilled workers belonged to any unions.

Even if energetic organizing efforts had been undertaken, the response of many of these workers at that time might have been lukewarm, especially those in the newer expanding industries where relatively high wages were paid and where expanding production softened the incidence of technological displacements.²¹ The comparatively high wages received by these workers were not diluted by rising costs of living, for the prices which workers paid for what they bought remained stable through these years, fluctuating less than four per cent between 1923 and 1929. If there had been a marked increase in cost of living, no doubt many of the unorganized workers would have sought the assistance of already established unions or formed new ones just as they had in past periods when prices were rising.

It was in these industries, characterized by large corporations, that management was most active in the adoption of programs which many employers felt made unions unnecessary. The twenties marked the peak of welfare activities, when employees' pension plans, group life insurance, and medical services were offered as security against the unavoidable hazards of life, when professional personnel managers were engaged to handle the grievances and problems arising on the job, and when plant baseball teams, glee clubs and dances provided recreation when off the job.²² To create an attitude of partnership with manage-

²¹ Average weekly wages during 1923-1925, based on estimates of total factory wage earners and weekly payrolls, were \$31.33 in automobile manufacturing, \$30.12 in petroleum refining, and \$28.51 in tire manufacturing. Total annual payrolls increased about 12 per cent in automobile and tire manufacturing and more than 25 per cent in petroleum refining between 1923 and 1929. In contrast, the average weekly wages during 1923-1925 in cotton goods manufacturing were \$15.68, in men's clothing \$22.74, and in shoe manufacturing \$21.03. Total annual payrolls between 1923 and 1929 declined more than 20 per cent in cotton goods manufacturing, and 12 per cent in men's clothing and shoe manufacturing.

²² The National Industrial Conference Board reported (*Industrial Relations in Small Plants, 1929*) that of 1,676 companies studied which employed more than 250 workers, 34 per cent had personnel departments, 33½ per cent had plant physicians, 47½ per cent had plant nurses, 43 per cent had athletic teams, 47 per cent group life insurance, and 30 per cent mutual benefit associations.

ment, employee stock ownership was encouraged and sometimes required.²³

As a further substitute for trade unions, a number of employers established works councils or employee representation plans. The number of workers covered by such plans increased from less than 700,000 in 1922 to over 1,500,000 in 1928.²⁴ Many of these company unions were established after an unsuccessful strike of trade unions. Shop councils were established on the Pennsylvania and a number of other railroad systems following the shopmen's strike in 1922. The General Electric Industrial Representation Plan was established in 1924, following numerous strikes of the metal workers' unions. Some of the larger New England textile mills adopted employee representation plans as an aftermath of strikes by the textile unions.

Union-Management Co-operation. In response to the challenge offered by personnel management and company unions, a number of the trade unions adopted programs of union-management co-operation. The first such plan on a broad basis was entered into by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and the Machinists' Union soon after the railroad shopmen's strike in 1922, and was later accepted by other shop crafts and several other railroad systems not already entrenched in company unionism. The co-operative machinery provided for local, regional and system joint committees of union representatives and supervisors, which not only handled employee grievances but discussed all questions and problems relating to greater efficiency and improvement of railroad service.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union was an outstanding example of a union willing to share in management responsibility. Employers were persuaded to allow union experts to go into the shop in order to reorganize the flow of work, subdivide processes, establish production standards, and even substitute machines for hand labor. When such innovations resulted in reductions of staff, dismissal wages

²³ The National Industrial Conference Board (*Employee-Stock Purchase Plans in 1928*) estimated that in 1928 over a million employees owned or had subscribed for over a billion dollars' worth of securities of the companies by which they were employed. In over 315 companies which reported having employee stock ownership plans, 30 per cent of their employees were stockholders. All of the employees of the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company, and 70 per cent of the employees of the International Harvester Company, owned company stock.

²⁴ National Industrial Conference Board, *Collective Bargaining Through Employee Representation*, New York, 1933.

were sometimes provided for employees laid off; in other instances, such persons were transferred to other plants through the union's centralized hiring hall. In addition to these aids for improving the competitive position of individual firms, the union sometimes loaned money to enable employers to stay in business.

Another instance of union-management co-operation took place in the coal industry: As an aftermath of a very bitter strike in the Colorado coal fields in 1927, the United Mine Workers accepted the offer of one of the companies, the Rocky Mountain Fuel and Iron Company which was friendly to union organization, to co-operate with management to obtain maximum efficiency in order that it might compete successfully with neighboring nonunion mines which paid lower wages. Later, co-operative relations progressed to such an extent that the union undertook sales promotion campaigns to bring more business to the company.

Left-Wing Movement. While most of the union leaders during the twenties were sufficiently satisfied with the existing role of organized labor not to depart from customary methods and policies, many workers inside and outside the movement felt that more aggressive action was needed toward union expansion and the betterment of working conditions. Capitalizing on this discontent, some left-wing groups, dominated by the Communist party, formed the Trade Union Unity League in 1928. During the next few years the TUUL organized a number of industrial unions, the most important being in mining, textiles and needle trades. The National Miners' Union was active during the coal strikes in 1931, especially in and around Harlan County, Kentucky. Most of these coal strikes ended in defeat and the few settlements which were made were negotiated with the older United Mine Workers.

The National Textile Workers Union conducted a number of organization strikes among southern textile workers, the best known of which occurred in Gastonia, N.C., in 1931. The establishment of a Needle Trades' Workers Industrial Union marked the culmination of years of bitter strife between the Communists and the "regular" trade unionists within the Ladies' Garment Workers.

While the Trade Union Unity League was active in certain areas, its total membership was probably never over a hundred thousand. In 1934 the TUUL dissolved as a separate organization and most of its members re-entered the ranks of their respective unions.

THE GREAT DEPRESSION

Total union membership had declined to less than 3,500,000 in 1929, and was reduced another half million during the ensuing depression. The building trades and transportation unions were most seriously affected, having an average loss in membership of over one-third. The United Mine Workers, reflecting increasing distress in the industry, was steadily losing members and collective bargaining relationships. In 1923 it had a peak membership of 515,700; ten years later its membership was reduced to less than half and a major portion of these were confined to the anthracite fields. Losses in the clothing unions, although considerable, were not as great as in most of the other unions. The printing trades unions probably suffered the least of any during the depression.

In the midst of these reversals, organized labor received its first substantial protection and encouragement from federal legislation. The Norris-LaGuardia Act, enacted in 1932, declared the workers' right to self-organization and collective bargaining to be the public policy of the United States. Specifically, the act provides that United States courts may not issue injunctions against the normal and peaceful activities connected with industrial disputes and that injunctions may be granted only after open hearings. It also relieves officers and unions of liability for unlawful acts of its members, and makes unenforceable in federal courts those individual contracts (popularly called "yellow-dog contracts") in which the employee promises not to join any labor organization. Protection under this act was extended to state courts when a number of states enacted legislation during the next few years following the general pattern of the Norris-LaGuardia Act.

Six years previous to the Norris-LaGuardia Act the railroad workers had been given legal protection against interference in their self-organization. The 1926 Railroad Act, strengthened and clarified by amendments in 1933 and 1934, imposed upon employers and workers the duty "to exert every reasonable effort to make and maintain agreements," such agreements to be negotiated through labor organizations having the support of at least a majority of the employees concerned.

Such governmental aids to labor foreshadowed the legislation that was to come.

CHAPTER II

A DECADE'S EXPANSION

FROM a low ebb of less than 3 million members, organized labor during the past decade has developed into a dynamic and expanding movement including almost 14 million members. While a favorable government has made possible the expansion which has continued almost without interruption since 1933, workers themselves have been responsible for the actual growth in numbers and influence. Given an even break by the law and courts, large masses of workers have shown a spontaneous desire toward organized effort to improve their working and living conditions, and vigorous labor leadership has come to the fore.

RECOVERY IN THE NEW DEAL

The National Industrial Recovery Act. The purpose of the National Industrial Recovery Act, enacted June 16, 1933, was to restore employment and purchasing power. In addition to an extensive public works program, the act provided that each industry establish codes of fair competition which were to include minimum working standards—prohibition of child labor, reduced hours, and increased wages. Labor was given only an advisory status in the preparation of these codes¹ and the actual influence of organized labor in the preparation and enforcement of the labor provisions in the codes varied considerably. In a few instances, such as clothing and mining, the union representatives were active in determining the labor terms and in seeing that they were enforced. A majority of the codes, however, were prepared with a minimum of worker participation.

¹ After a code was drawn up by the proper trade association, public hearings were held by the Code Administrator, at which any labor representative could appear. As a further protection a Labor Advisory Board, appointed by the Secretary of Labor, was responsible for seeing that every affected labor group, organized or unorganized, was represented at such hearings.

Of most vital significance to organized labor was section 7(a) of the act, which required that each code contain the provision that "employees shall have the right to organize and to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, and shall be free from the interference, restraint, or coercion of employers . . . in the designation of such representatives . . ." Labor boards were created to handle disputes arising over the interpretation of this section and to conduct elections to determine bargaining representation.²

A wave of union activity followed in the wake of the passage of the NIRA. Much of this was the result of the planned efforts of unions which sought to organize the open-shop areas within their industries. In many nonunion industries and regions, however, the urge to organize emanated from the workers themselves, with union organizers in many instances unable to keep up with the demands made upon them. As a result of the twenty-two months' activity during the National Recovery Administration, more than half a million additional workers became dues-paying members of unions and many more showed an active interest in organization.

The biggest gains were made by the mine workers and men and women's clothing unions. With the Amalgamated Clothing Workers the increase represented a regaining of depression losses and some extension into previously unorganized areas. Both the Mine Workers and the Ladies' Garment Workers, however, had suffered such severe losses during the twenties that the gains made during the NRA signified virtual revivals of these unions. The Mine Workers not only re-established collective bargaining in regions which had become open shop several years previously, but were able to obtain agreements from employers in such nonunion areas as Kentucky and Alabama. The Ladies' Garment Workers not only recaptured the New York market, which it had lost during the depression, but brought many of the "runaway" shops in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Connecticut under collective agreements as well as nonunion plants in other sections of the country.

Union activity in the textile industry was a resumption of organ-

²The first such board, the National Labor Board, was a bipartisan board of which Senator Wagner was chairman. Later a number of special boards were established for particular industries. The National Labor Board was replaced by the first National Labor Relations Board, which was created by Congressional Resolution in June, 1934. This nonpartisan board was empowered to investigate controversies, hold elections and hearings, and make findings of fact regarding violations of section 7(a).

izing efforts which had been interrupted by the depression. Before the NRA the United Textile Workers had a paid-up membership of 15,000; a year later the union claimed over 300,000. Although only a portion of these actually were dues-paying members, the general strike during the summer of 1934, which reached into twenty states, attested the widespread interest which the union had aroused. Although the strike brought no immediate tangible gains, the groundwork was laid for the unionization which followed several years later.

On the Pacific waterfront, where collective bargaining had been virtually dormant for a dozen years, the various individual unions not only revived but joined in a new united movement. The prolonged strike in San Francisco during the summer of 1934, in which the seamen, longshoremen and truck drivers participated, was the first of a series of bitter disputes to gain union control of jobs and collective bargaining over working conditions in the important waterfront and allied trades.

While most of the increase in union organization during the NRA represented a revival and growth of existing unions, workers in plants and industries hitherto unorganized were endeavoring to establish new organizations. Scattered local unions appeared among the mass production industries and even among white-collar and agricultural workers. During 1934 and 1935 the AFL chartered 1,800 federal³ unions, including 183 in the automobile industry, 69 in the rubber, 17 in the aluminum, 12 in the radio and electrical equipment, and 27 in the cement industries, as well as 66 among gasoline station attendants, and 133 among lumbermen and sawmill workers.

As a result of the twenty-two months' activity during the NRA, membership in AFL unions increased over 40 per cent; in 1935, for the first time since 1922, their total paid-up membership exceeded 3 million. The Railroad Brotherhoods, benefiting from the 1934 amendment to the Railway Labor Act, were also expanding. Organized labor as a whole not only recouped its depression losses and regained some of the following it had lost during the 1920's, but was beginning to enter a few of the hitherto nonunion industries.

Company Unions During the NRA. While trade unions were undertaking campaigns to extend their membership and effectiveness,

³ So-called "Federal Labor Unions" are locals directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

many employers were equally active in setting up their substitute for trade unions—company unions. While section 7(a) was interpreted by labor to mean a legal right to be represented by unions which were coextensive with employers' trade associations, many employers insisted that dealing exclusively with their own employee representatives fulfilled the requirements of the law to bargain collectively, and that workers' freedom "from interference, restraint, and coercion" did not preclude employers' assistance in establishing and maintaining company unions. Accordingly, employee representation plans which had been formed before the depression and had become moribund were revived, and new ones were established. Trade associations and employers' counselors not only prepared model plans for their clients but maintained experts to assist companies in getting them started and keeping them active.

By the spring of 1934, probably one-fourth of all industrial workers were in plants which maintained company unions.⁴ Almost two-thirds of these company unions were established during the NRA—a majority of them after a strike had taken place or a trade union was making headway in the plant. Most of the larger steel, rubber, petroleum and chemical companies had company unions, as well as many of the utility companies and manufacturing concerns of all kinds. A good deal of the time of the NRA labor boards was devoted to the disputes arising over the conflicting claims of unions and employers over the interpretation of section 7(a) with respect to company unions.

The National Labor Relations Act. Labor, as well as the general public, reacted with mixed feelings to the Supreme Court's invalidation of the National Industrial Recovery Act in May, 1935. Significantly, the protections afforded labor under the NIRA had become sufficiently acceptable to induce Congress a few months later (July 5, 1935) to enact a law exclusively dealing with labor's rights and privileges. The National Labor Relations Act, popularly referred to as labor's Magna Charta, guarantees employees "the right to self-organization, to form, join, or assist labor organizations, to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, and to engage in concerted activities

⁴ Based on a survey made by the Bureau of Labor Statistics in April, 1935, covering 14,725 establishments, employing 1,935,673 workers; 19.9 per cent of these workers were employed in plants with company unions only, and 7.4 per cent in plants with company unions and trade unions.

for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection."⁵

Passage of a law does not always ensure immediate observance and for almost two years the operation of this act was seriously impeded through the resistance of many employers who were firmly convinced that the act would be invalidated in the courts. The constitutionality of the act was affirmed by the Supreme Court on April 12, 1937, and a number of Supreme Court decisions thereafter have clarified the coverage of the act and strengthened the power of the board created to enforce the act.

The National Labor Relations Act signified governmental assistance of the first magnitude to organized labor. A country which had been unique in its almost complete absence of governmental support for collective action by its wage earners, reversed its position and gave to a government board broad powers to carve out new industrial relations patterns. Through its quasi-judicial powers to interpret and determine unfair labor practices, the board is able to prevent employers from engaging in most of those practices which had become the most impregnable obstacles to union expansion. Through its jurisdiction in the establishment of bargaining units, the board may sanction or disallow bargaining on a craft or plant basis or on a basis broad enough to permit standardization of working conditions throughout an entire industry or area. Through its power to examine the circumstances surrounding the creation and functioning of employees' organizations and to determine what agencies may appear on the ballot when plant elections are held, the board is able to deal a death blow to bona fide labor unions' most formidable rival—the company-dominated union.

DIVISION IN LABOR'S RANKS

Concurrently with the passage and validation of the NLRA, momentous changes were taking place within the labor movement itself. Since the beginning of the labor movement there have been differences of opinion as to whether unions should be organized along occupation or craft lines, or whether unions should be coterminous with the industries concerned. Predominantly the AFL unions were craft organizations although some were established on an industrial basis and others had gradually expanded their coverage.⁶

⁵ See Chap. XIV and Glossary p. 262 for provisions of this act.

⁶ See p. 71.

When the organization of the mass production industries was undertaken during the NRA, the issue of craft versus industrial unionism became acute. At the 1934 AFL convention a resolution was adopted which recognized that there had been "a change in the nature of the work performed by millions of workers in industries which it has been most difficult or impossible to organize into craft unions." The same resolution stated, however: "We consider it our duty to formulate policies which will fully protect the jurisdictional rights of all trade unions organized upon craft lines." The controversy came to a head at the 1935 convention, when the industrial union resolution was defeated (10,933 in favor and 18,024 against) and when jurisdiction coextensive with the industry was denied the rubber, automobile, radio and other unions.

A month after this convention (November, 1935) the presidents of eight⁷ AFL unions created a Committee for Industrial Organization "for the purpose of encouraging and promoting the organization of the unorganized workers in mass-production and other industries upon an industrial basis." During the ensuing months several other AFL unions joined the Committee, and membership was later augmented by new groups which had never before been organized, by factions which had broken away from AFL unions, and by groups of AFL federal unions, as well as unions not affiliated with the AFL.

The majority of the Executive Council⁸ of the AFL interpreted the formation of this Committee as "dual in character and as decidedly menacing to its success and welfare." In August, 1936, the Executive Council ordered the ten unions then participating in the CIO to withdraw, and upon their refusal they were suspended from the AFL. During the following months, persons within and outside the labor movement, including the Secretary of Labor and the President of the United States, attempted to heal the breach but without success. All

⁷ John L. Lewis, United Mine Workers; Charles P. Howard, Int'l Typographical Union; Sidney Hillman, Amalgamated Clothing; David Dubinsky, Int'l Ladies' Garment; Thomas F. McMahon, United Textile; Harvey C. Fremming, Oil Field, Gas Well & Refinery; M. Zaritsky, Cap & Millinery Dept. of the United Hatters; Thomas H. Brown, Int'l Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter.

⁸ The Executive Council is made up of the President and Secretary and 15 Vice-Presidents. Three of these Vice-Presidents were charter members of the Committee for Industrial Organization. Of the 12 remaining, 5 were from the Building Trades and one each from the Machinists, Musicians, Teamsters, Letter Carriers, Street and Electric Railway, Photo-Engravers, and United Garment unions.

peace efforts having failed, in May, 1938, these unions, with the exception of the Ladies' Garment Workers, were finally expelled. A few months later the Ladies' Garment Workers withdrew from the CIO and in June, 1940, it reaffiliated with the AFL.

In November, 1938, the 32 International unions and the nine Organizing Committees, together with the city and state bodies then forming the Committee for Industrial Organization, met in constitutional convention and established the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Following this formal schism a number of efforts were made to bring about labor unity, including appeals from President Roosevelt. Instead of unity, however, there was further division. This was due initially to differences between John L. Lewis, the principal promoter and president of the CIO, and President Roosevelt.⁹ When the 1940 election results proved that labor generally remained loyal to Roosevelt, Lewis resigned as CIO president and in 1942 the United Mine Workers withdrew from the CIO. A year later they applied for reaffiliation into the AFL but later withdrew their application when the AFL insisted that they return with the trade jurisdiction they had when they left the AFL.

Thus organized labor was divided into several groups—the American Federation of Labor, the Standard Railroad Brotherhoods which never joined the AFL, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and the United Mine Workers which is seeking to expand its jurisdiction into trades and industries claimed by both AFL and CIO unions.

UNION EXPANSION

As a result of favorable legislation, the dynamics of a new movement organized on an industrial basis and the revived aggressiveness of some of the older unions, trade union membership more than doubled during the first three years after the passage of the NIRA—from slightly over 3½ million to almost 7½ million in 1937. For the first time unions made a successful entry in the mass production industries

⁹ A few years previously Mr. Lewis had been a vigorous supporter of Roosevelt. The United Mine Workers contributed one-half million dollars to the 1936 presidential campaign and Mr. Lewis was active in the Nonpartisan League which was established to mobilize the labor vote for Roosevelt. The estrangement which later developed is attributed in part to personal differences and to Mr. Lewis's opposition to Roosevelt's foreign policy and the measures taken during 1939-1940 in connection with national defense.

such as the steel, automobile, rubber and electric products industries. Sections of the country which had been untouched by any trade union activity found energetic organization campaigns under way. Workers in industrial centers in southern states, as well as in many of the smaller communities in the northern states, were aroused to trade union consciousness for the first time.

Organization made some headway among the agricultural hired laborers, sharecroppers and cannery workers. Coal miners were organized in those sections where formerly employer hostility, aided by local government officials, had been an effective barrier against unionization. Interest in organization extended into certain groups of white-collar workers, such as newspaper reporters, as well as office workers and retail clerks in some cities. Unions expanded among federal government workers and were established for the first time among many state and local government employees.

Expansion was not confined to new industries and areas, however. The long-established unions were able to increase their membership in the normally unionized trades and centers, as well as among the workers who had logically come within their purview through changing industrial processes.

These organization drives were accompanied by an unprecedented number of labor disputes. Strikes were called as a means of rallying workers into the unions; in other instances strikes were resorted to when employers refused union recognition after the union had obtained majority representation. Most of these strikes took the conventional form of a walkout with picketing. A considerable number, however, were sit-down, or stay-in, strikes and these received a great deal of adverse public criticism. Three-fourths of the lost time during strikes in 1937 was due to strikes for union recognition.

During the latter part of 1937 and throughout 1938 there was a slowing down in union organization, due chiefly to a business recession. Another factor was the public reaction against the aggressive organizing activities, especially the sit-down strikes, a tactical procedure which was almost entirely abandoned after 1937.

The basic strength of the revived labor movement which started during the NRA and continued with accelerated growth through 1937 was attested by the way in which unions were able to retain the loyalty of their newly acquired members during the business recession and to start expanding immediately upon the upturn of business about

the middle of 1939. Although practically all unions have increased in membership during the past several years, the greatest growth, of course, has been in the unions connected with the war production industries. This expansion has been the result of increased employment in already unionized plants and successful organization drives in hitherto nonunion plants, as well as newly established plants.

Aircraft manufacturing, for example, was practically unorganized prior to the defense program. Beginning in 1940, both the AFL and the CIO carried on vigorous drives with the result that by 1943 most of the industry was working under union agreements. Although the AFL metal trades unions and later the CIO Marine and Shipbuilding Workers had organized a few of the shipbuilding companies, some of the largest were nonunion at the beginning of war production. By 1943, unions were well-established in most of the large and small shipyards. Increases in union membership in the aluminum industry were a result both of expanding employment and successful membership drives in previously unorganized plants and newly established plants. The same was true in the automobile and electrical equipment industries as well as in most of the other war industries.

LABOR DURING WORLD WAR II

Concurrent with the general expansion in union membership and collective bargaining was the active participation of organized labor in many phases of the war production program. At the outset, in June, 1940, President Roosevelt indicated that the safeguards afforded labor by the National Labor Relations Act, the Fair Labor Standards Act, and the Public Contracts Act were not to be sacrificed but rather to be utilized to strengthen morale and improve productive efficiency. A concrete evidence of this was the retention of the basic 40-hour week throughout the war period with overtime rates when work schedules were increased to 48 and more hours.

Organized labor was represented on the first defense agency, the Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense, established in May, 1940. When the Office of Production Management was created in January, 1941, a labor representative was appointed as associate director to share authority with the Director General, and in a later reorganization a labor representative served in the dual capacity of vice-chairman of both the War Production Board and the War Man-

power Commission. In December, 1942, the presidents of the three major labor groups (AFL, CIO, Railway) were appointed to serve on a national Management-Labor Policy Committee, a consulting body for the War Manpower Commission. Similar joint committees were appointed in each of 12 regions and 300 local areas to assist in the over-all program of providing sufficient manpower for war production. There was some complaint on the part of the unions, however, that some local manpower administrators did not allow maximum participation by these local committees.

Maritime unions co-operated with the Maritime Commission and the Labor Department to work out plans for war risk insurance, as well as means for manning newly acquired merchant vessels. The building and metal trades and other unions assisted in supplying skilled workers as instructors in the newly established training centers. The Treasury Department sought the assistance of the unions in the sale of War Bonds. As raw materials, such as silk and later many other commodities, were curtailed or diverted, the affected unions co-operated with the government and the industry representatives in plans for the conversion of the plant facilities to needed war production.

In December, 1940, a Shipbuilding Stabilization Committee was appointed composed of employer, union, Navy, and Maritime Commission representatives which negotiated master agreements for each of the four shipbuilding regions, providing standard basic wage rates, uniform overtime provisions and shift premiums, as well as machinery for adjustment of grievances and disputes, including arbitration. In July, 1941, an agreement was reached by the representatives of government agencies and the Building and Construction Trades Department of the AFL which established uniform standards in war construction with respect to overtime rates, shift arrangements, predetermination of wages before jobs were started, apprentice rules and subcontracting. Later, another agreement was reached which provided that on all federal war construction the wage rates under collective agreements in effect on July 1, 1942, would continue for the duration of the war, except changes authorized by the Wage Adjustment Board—a tripartite body composed of representatives from the building trades unions and the government contracting agencies, with the Assistant Secretary of Labor acting as chairman.

Under the auspices of the War Production Board, labor-management

committees were established in hundreds of plants for the purpose of "meeting such problems as the maximum war use of the equipment and manpower of every shop and factory, the spreading of war orders, the orderly transfer and retaining of workers for war jobs, the conversion of strategic war materials, as well as many other questions." A large majority were in unionized plants where union members served as the employee representatives on the joint committees.

Direct participation in government administration was provided in the tripartite National War Labor Board which was established in January, 1942, as a "supreme court for labor disputes." So long as the NWLB confined its activities to this original purpose, organized labor enthusiastically endorsed it as an example of voluntary co-operation by management, labor and government. Dissatisfaction was expressed, however, after the board was given responsibility for administering the wage stabilization program (September, 1942) and at the same time was directed not to authorize further increases in general wage levels.¹⁰

Discontent over this "freezing" of wages, as well as delay in board action in settlement of disputes (due to the heavy load of work resulting from the wage stabilization program), was evidenced in the relatively large number of strikes which occurred during 1944. However, as indicated in a later chapter, few were of prolonged duration, for in most cases the workers returned promptly upon orders from their union officials and the War Labor Board.

On the whole, cordial relations with organized labor were maintained by the War and Navy Departments, both of which employed labor relations experts at their Washington headquarters as well as in the important production centers, to plan and direct labor policy and assist in settling differences between unions and military authorities. As a morale builder, union leaders were taken to training centers and foreign combat areas to see how guns and ammunition were being used and to gain firsthand knowledge of war production needs.

ORGANIZED LABOR TODAY

Extent of Unionization. At the close of the third year of United States participation in World War II, organized labor had reached

¹⁰ The board was permitted, however, to grant increases under particular circumstances. See Chap. XIV for further discussion of the NWLB's activities.

a peak of almost 14 million members. Approximately 7 million workers belonged to AFL unions, about 5 million were members of CIO unions, and 1¾ millions belonged to International unions which were not affiliated with either the AFL or CIO.

The relative strength of union membership among different groups of wage earners varied widely. Although less than half the total wage earners in the country belonged to labor unions,¹¹ almost all the workers in some trades and industries were organized while in others, especially in the white-collar occupations, relatively few belonged to labor organizations. Membership was most extensive in coal and iron mining, all branches of transportation, commercial building construction, newspaper printing and publishing, aircraft and automobile manufacturing, shipbuilding, and the various clothing industries; also a large majority of the workers engaged in the steel, machinery, glass, paper, rubber, meat-packing and metal industries belonged to labor unions.¹²

While size is an important criterion, it is not the sole measure of the strength or influence of any organization. From a moribund labor movement including less than 3 million members a decade ago, organized labor not only has effected major changes in employer-worker relationships but has expanded its interest and influence beyond the workshop into broader political and governmental affairs.

Labor and Politics. From the date of its formation, the American Federation of Labor has followed a nonpartisan political policy of supporting its friends and opposing its enemies regardless of their party affiliations. This nonpartisanship is based on the belief that (1) partisan politics might create dissension among its members and turn their attention away from trade union matters, (2) neutrality is more

¹¹ Approximately one-half million of the 13¾ million members were employed in government service and about 350,000 were members of Canadian locals. About 13 million were employed in private U.S. industry which represented 44 per cent of the total 30 million wage earners in private industry who could reasonably be assumed to be potential union members. Although an average of 54 million persons were engaged in civilian employment in 1944, about 24 million of these consisted of independent farmers, self-employed professional persons, managers and supervisors of commercial and business establishments, domestic workers, and government employees.

¹² See Chap. XII for extent of collective bargaining in each of the various industries.

effective for obtaining political concessions since competing candidates must bid for members' support, and (3) labor should not run the risk of identifying itself with any particular party because it would lose all its political influence if that particular party should be defeated.

While nonpartisanship has been the guiding rule of the AFL, upon a few occasions it has endorsed particular presidential candidates, and a number of its affiliated organizations from time to time have actively sponsored political parties, and occasionally have gone so far as to advocate a separate labor party.

Samuel Gompers, first and long-time president of the American Federation of Labor, actively participated in the Democratic party campaign in 1908 after he was repulsed by the Republicans in his efforts to obtain relief from the courts' use of the Sherman Antitrust Act and injunctions in labor disputes.¹³ He continued to support the Democratic party, although less actively, until 1924 when, in protest against the conservative platform and candidate this party had chosen, he persuaded the AFL Executive Council to endorse a new third party—the Progressive party, which also received the official support of the railroad brotherhoods in that election. Previous to this, in 1919-1922, a number of AFL State Federations in the Middle West had identified themselves with the Farmer-Labor party which was successful in a number of state and local elections.

Labor participation in politics became much more active after the formation of the CIO, since these unions are convinced that vigorous activity in political affairs is necessary if labor is to retain and increase its economic gains. In 1936 various CIO unions, joined by several AFL unions, established a Labor's Nonpartisan League which campaigned for the re-election of the New Deal administration. Subsequently, New York unions took an active part in the American Labor party although many withdrew in the spring of 1944 on the grounds that the Communists had gained control.¹⁴

¹³ In his *Seventy Years of Life and Labor*, Gompers made this comment about his political activities at that time: "When I brought the labor issue into the presidential campaign, I realized that the labor movement had entered a new sphere of activity and that henceforth its spokesman must state its policies in national terms . . . we had to direct labor's opposition to a national party that had pronounced against measures necessary to the functioning of labor organizations." (Vol. II, p. 266.)

¹⁴ The largest which withdrew, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (AFL), nevertheless reaffirmed its belief in the necessity for an inde-

Impetus for direct political action on a national scale was strengthened during 1943 when wide-spread expressions in the daily press, state legislatures and Congress aroused fears that New Deal labor gains were in jeopardy.¹⁵ To assure the continuation of the New Deal program, both national and international, the CIO established a Political Action Committee (July 1943) which is generally believed to have had a major influence on the outcome of the 1944 elections. Although practically all the candidates which PAC sponsored belonged to the Democratic party,¹⁶ subsequent to the elections the CIO reaffirmed the traditional non-partisan policy of organized labor in this country, at the same time it decided to continue its active participation in politics.¹⁷

Unity vs. Dualism. A most serious and baffling problem within the American labor movement today is its disunity, not only in structure but in attitudes and procedures. The schism which has existed since

pendent party. Said its president to the union's 1944 convention: "We have always believed in independent political action by labor. We have consistently supported every genuine move for its practical realization. . . . We who believe in a labor third party movement are fully aware of the difficulties which it has to contend against. . . . Apathy of American workers who for many years have been made to believe that a policy of 'reward your friends and punish your enemies' is sufficient to protect them politically, but this loose policy of lobbying and bargaining has over the years proved not only of little effect to labor; it has frequently worked in reverse. . . . Where confronted with a situation of 2 Coolidges or 2 Deweys running on their respective party tickets, labor would be placed in a position in which it would reward its enemies. . . . Under such circumstances labor becomes a homeless group; one to be ignored and snubbed by either party."

¹⁵ In 40 state legislatures bills were introduced to restrict various activities and practices of labor unions although only 11 actually became law during the year. In Congress the Connally-Smith Act was interpreted by unions as antilabor.

¹⁶ The structure of the PAC was based on the local unions, each of which decided its own choice of candidates for local office. (See p. 175 for further discussion on methods and procedure of PAC.)

¹⁷ The resolution to continue the PAC read in part: "The experience of this election campaign has fully confirmed the correctness of our decision to abstain from and discourage any move in the direction of a third party . . . The political activity of CIO must and will be continued on an independent and non-partisan basis, giving support to the progressive forces in both major parties and basing its judgment of candidates solely on their records." (CIO 1944 Convention Proceedings, p. 210.)

1935 shows no sign of healing and it is possible that the disparateness may become greater during postwar industrial dislocations and world-wide political developments.

While the 1944 AFL convention voted to "explore every avenue that would lead toward unity within the American labor movement," the CIO indicated that they were not interested in organic unity although they were eager to work with the AFL in a common program for specific federal legislation and an international security organization. The structural unity which the AFL is anxious to achieve turns upon the complexities of union jurisdictions. During the ten years since the split over craft versus industrial form of organization in a few of the basic industries, especially automobile, rubber, and steel, the various CIO unions have penetrated virtually every industry while many former AFL craft unions have expanded into industrial unions.

Although the AFL has some members in almost all industries and trades throughout the country, the bulk of its membership is in building construction and transportation as well as West Coast shipbuilding. CIO membership includes most of the workers in the mass production industries such as steel, automobile, farm machinery and electrical products manufacturing as well as the East Coast shipbuilding. AFL and CIO membership is about equal in the aircraft, maritime and clothing industries and among retail trade and office employees. The independent United Mine Workers through its District 50 has widened its jurisdiction to include any trade or industry it sees fit to enter although at present it is particularly interested in the expanding chemical, plastic and prefabricated housing industries. Operating railroad workers belong to the four independent railroad brotherhoods although most of the shop craftsmen, maintenance and clerical employees belong to unions affiliated with the AFL.

These overlappings of jurisdictions and consequent rivalries between individual unions and union groupings may well become accentuated as employment declines during reconversion to civilian production and as contemplated new materials, processes and commodities are introduced into industry during the postwar period.

In addition to the rivalry for union membership and trade jurisdiction, are basic differences in viewpoint with respect to the relation of unions to the domestic government as well as to the kind of world-wide labor movement which should be developed after the war is con-

cluded. Predominantly the AFL seeks to keep the trade union movement detached from politics and fears "too much government" both in industry and in unions. The CIO inclines to think that more government control in economic affairs is inevitable and that organized labor therefore should increase its political influence and participation in government; some of its unions have gone so far as to advocate tripartite (management, labor, government) industry councils, co-ordinated by a national planning board.

Since practical rather than theoretical considerations are the controlling factors with any labor organization, AFL as well as CIO unions may welcome government control in particular circumstances when such intervention will benefit their members. In 1934 the AFL did not oppose the National Recovery Act industry codes as a means for pulling the country out of a devastating business depression. Whatever differences there are between the AFL and CIO attitudes toward the relationship of government to unions and industry, they are primarily based on hopes and expectations more than differences in line of conduct should the well-being of their members seem to require government action or freedom from control under any particular circumstances.

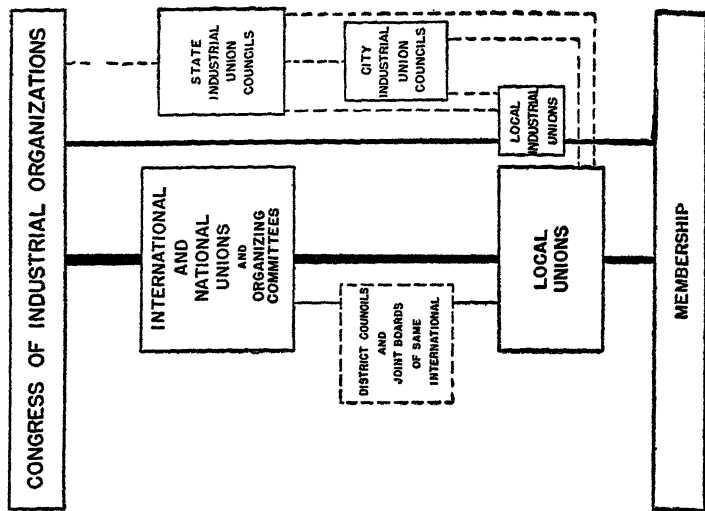
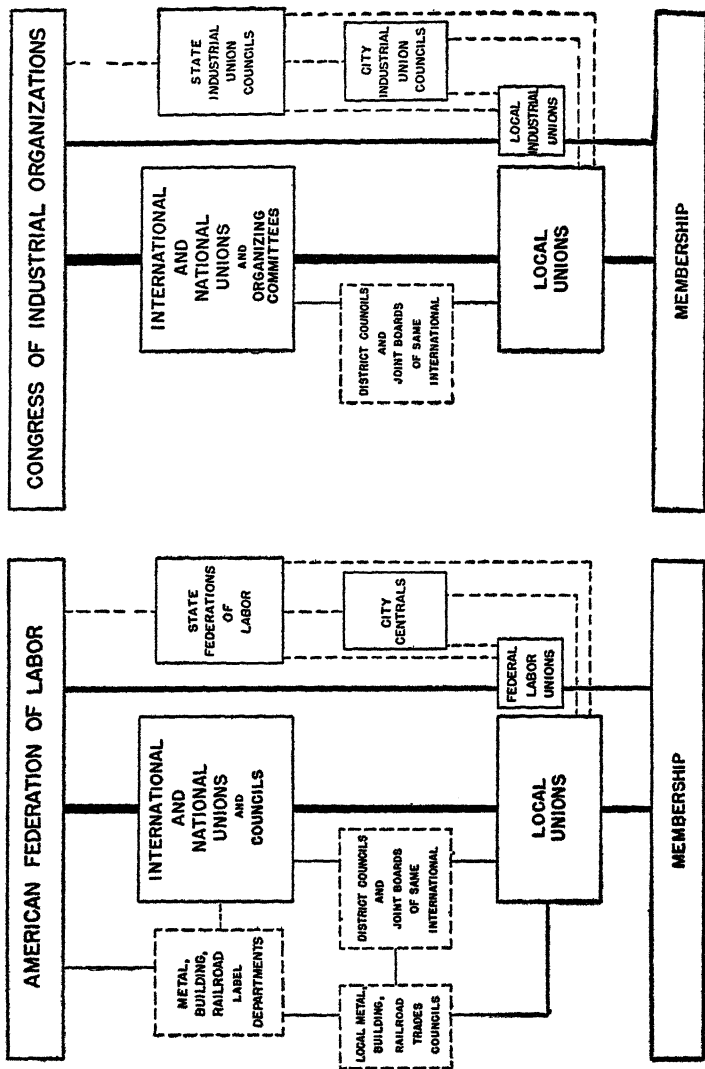
Of far-reaching effect, and not without international political implications, is the fundamental difference in the plans and desires of the AFL and CIO with regard to the future world-wide labor movement. The AFL, in addition to its opposition to sharing representation with the CIO in any international organization, is vigorously opposed to including any members in such an organization who are not representatives of *free* trade unions;¹⁸ in other words, the AFL refuses to participate in any organization which includes representatives of any totalitarian government. The CIO, on the other hand, is actively seeking to establish a world labor movement which will include Soviet representation.

Because of its international nature, the outcome of this contest will

¹⁸ The AFL defines free trade unions thus: "Free trade unions are independent organizations controlling their own terms and conditions of membership, deciding their own rules and discipline of membership, able to make a contract with assurance of fulfillment. Free trade unions are not state controlled nor are they auxiliaries of the state, dominant party, or any employer or employers' organizations. Free trade unions are not subject to any political party nor do they serve as party tools. Power of deciding policies and the course of the organization is lodged with the union membership." (*AFL Weekly News Service*, Dec. 5, 1944.)

necessarily depend upon the course of action taken by the labor movements of Great Britain and other democratic countries. Whatever kind of world-wide organization eventuates, its composition and policies are bound to have an influence upon the future course of the American labor movement.

STRUCTURE OF LABOR UNIONS



Part II. STRUCTURE AND INTERNAL GOVERNMENT OF LABOR ORGANIZATIONS

CHAPTER III

FEDERATED ORGANIZATIONS

"ORGANIZED labor" refers to those workers who have combined into organizational units of one kind or another for the purpose of improving their economic status. The "labor movement" connotes the unified purpose, activities and aspirations of such workers. Neither term relates specifically to the structural arrangement by which workers group themselves. However, the structural arrangements with which this and the following chapters are concerned are basic elements of any general movement. Although personalities and external circumstances may be controlling forces in the development of any movement, its character and effectiveness are influenced strongly by its internal mechanism and rules of operation.

The constituent and autonomous units which make up the bulk of organized labor are the National and International unions.¹ Most of these unions are affiliated with either the American Federation of Labor or the Congress of Industrial Organizations although there are important exceptions. A number of railroad and government workers' unions, for instance, have never belonged to the federated groups. Several other unions have at various times belonged to either the AFL or the CIO but for some specific reasons have withdrawn or been expelled.

The major functions of the federated organizations, both the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, are to promote the interests of workers and unions before the legislative, judicial and administrative branches of government; to expand union organization, both directly and by assisting their Inter-

¹ For the sake of brevity and because of its general usage in trade union circles, the author throughout this volume uses the term "International" when referring to any of the bona fide labor unions in this country.

national unions; to provide research, legal and other technical assistance to their members; to publish periodical journals and other literature dealing with economic problems and general matters of interest to labor; to represent and promote the cause of labor before the general public; to determine the jurisdictional boundaries of their affiliated unions and to protect them from dual unionism; to serve as spokesman for their unions on international affairs, especially international labor movements.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

The American Federation of Labor was organized in 1881 by a group of trade unions for the purpose of mutual aid and protection.² As its name implies, it is an organization of unions of workers which serves as their spokesman and through which the unions act on matters which concern more than one trade or group of workers. Historically and structurally the Federation is an agent of its constituent organizations, having only such powers, and engaging in only those activities, which have been assigned to it by its affiliated unions. It has no direct authority over the internal affairs or the activities of any of its member unions so long as they do not impinge upon the jurisdiction of another affiliated union. While it exerts a great deal of influence over its members, its only actual power is the power of expulsion from membership in the Federation.

An International union becomes a part of the American Federation of Labor in one of two ways: (1) An already organized independent union may apply for a charter of affiliation. If it does not trespass on the jurisdiction of already affiliated unions, and if its general characteristics are not in violation of the basic principles of the American Federation of Labor, the charter is usually granted. (2) The American Federation of Labor may itself create an International union by combining an appropriate group of its own federal labor unions into an autonomous unit and granting it an international charter.

The annual convention is the supreme lawmaking body of the Federation. Decisions and instructions of the conventions are carried out by the Executive Council which meets about four times a year. The responsible administrative agents are the President and Secretary-Treasurer who devote full time to the Federation's work.

² Originally organized under the name of "Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions" and adopted its present name in 1886.

The annual conventions of the Federation are held the first Monday in October except in presidential election years when they are held the third Monday in November. The convention meets in the city selected by the previous convention and generally lasts about two weeks and is attended by delegates representing all the affiliated bodies. Each city central, state federation, and directly affiliated federal labor union is entitled to one delegate. Each International has one delegate for less than 4,000 members, two delegates for 4,000 or more, three for 8,000 or more, four for 16,000 or more, five for 32,000 or more, and so on. In a roll call vote, held upon demand of one-tenth of the delegates, each International delegate casts one vote for every 100 members or major fraction thereof which he represents. The membership is based on the average number of persons during the year for whom the union has paid per capita taxes to the Federation.

The Executive Council is composed of the President, Secretary-Treasurer and fifteen Vice-Presidents elected annually by the convention. By custom, the Vice-Presidents are selected from among the officers, usually the Presidents, of the Internationals, who continue to hold their offices with their respective unions. While the President and Secretary-Treasurer must be members of some affiliated union, after election they devote their full time to Federation matters.

The Executive Council carries out the decisions of the convention and submits a report to each convention on the activities of the Federation and recommendations for further action. During the interim between conventions the Executive Council may take any action which "may become necessary to safeguard and promote the best interests of the Federation and of its affiliated unions." While the granting and revoking of charters rests with the convention, the Executive Council may suspend any union which it finds guilty of promoting dual unionism, the union having the right to appeal to the annual convention. While the amount of per capita taxes and assessments is determined by the convention, the Executive Council has the power to levy a general assessment up to ten cents a member during any yearly period to assist an affiliated union in a protracted strike or lockout. Since the federal unions are directly affiliated with the Federation, the Executive Council maintains the same kind of control over them which an International does over its locals.

In its office at Washington, D.C., the Federation maintains a staff of economic and legal advisers and assistants who prepare data to be

used at Congressional hearings and work in close co-operation with the various governmental agencies concerned with labor matters. A major activity of the Washington staff is the preparation of the Federation publications (see Chap. IX). While a large share of the work of organizing the unorganized is performed by the Internationals within their various jurisdictions, the Federation also employs about 175 organizers to assist them and to carry on organizing activities in the industries and trades not included within the jurisdiction of any of its affiliated unions.

The revenue of the Federation is derived from a per capita tax upon the paid-up membership of each affiliated International union amounting to 1½ cents per member per month up to 300,000 members, and 1 cent per member in excess of 300,000. Federal labor unions, which do not belong to Internationals but are directly affiliated with the AFL, pay 35½ cents per month per member and 25 per cent of their total initiation fees. Each city central and state federation pays \$10 per year to the Federation. Special assessments upon the membership may be made by a majority vote of any convention.

In November, 1944, there were 102 International and National unions, 50 state federations, 749 city centrals, and 1,625 federal labor unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. A large number of the federal labor unions belong to the six councils which have semiautonomous status but have not yet been chartered as International unions.

DEPARTMENTS OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

The 1907 convention of the American Federation of Labor declared that "For the greater development of the labor movement, departments subordinate to the American Federation of Labor are to be established from time to time . . . each department is to manage and finance its own affairs . . . but no department shall enact laws, rules or regulations in conflict with the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor." During the two years subsequent to this declaration, four departments were established: the Building and Construction Trades Department, the Metal Trades Department, the Railway Employees' Department, and the Union Label Trades Department. Many of the International unions of the AFL are outside the jurisdic-

tion of any of these departments while some are affiliated with several departments.³

Building and Construction Trades Department. A major function of the Building and Construction Trades Department is to extend union organization among building trades workers and to settle jurisdictional disputes between member unions. If disputes cannot be settled within the Department, or, in the case of those involving a union outside the Department, with the union concerned, they are referred to the Executive Council and then to the convention of the AFL for final determination. (If the jurisdictional dispute is with a union outside the AFL there is, of course, no intra-union machinery for adjustment.)

Another important activity of the Building and Construction Trades Department is to deal with federal agencies having to do with public construction and to promote the general interests of building trades workers before Congress. Thus, the officers of the Department took an active part in the passage of the Public Contracts Act of 1936, and in 1941 and 1942 were signatories to the Building Trades Stabilization Agreement for war construction.

The Department holds its annual convention in the same city and in the week preceding the annual convention of the AFL. Constituent unions paying per capita taxes to the Department on less than 4,000 members are entitled to one delegate to this convention; 4,000 or more, two delegates; 8,000 or more, three delegates; 16,000 or more, four delegates, etc. Organizations having seven or more delegates are entitled to two votes when a roll call is held. The full-time President and Secretary-Treasurer are elected triennially and maintain offices in Washington, D.C. Eight Vice-Presidents elected annually, together with the President, compose the Executive Council. Amendments to the constitutions are made by a majority vote during the annual conventions.

The Department is supported through initiation fees of \$100 from

³ The AFL Constitution provides: "When an organization has interests in Departments other than the one of its principal affiliation, in which it shall pay per capita tax upon its entire membership, it is to be represented in and pay per capita tax to the other Departments upon the number of members whose occupations come under such other Departments, but in no instance less than 20 percent of the membership upon which it pays per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor."

each of its Internationals (paid only once) and a per capita tax of $\frac{3}{4}$ of 1 cent a month from all the members of the constituent unions engaged in the building industry, either in erection, repair, alteration or demolition work. If necessary to meet running expenses, the Executive Council between conventions may levy an assessment of not more than 1 cent per member.

At present the Building and Construction Trades Department has around 500 local and 13 state councils and 19 affiliated Internationals as follows:

International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and Asbestos Workers

International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America

Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union of America

International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers

United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America

International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America

International Union of Elevator Constructors

International Union of Operating Engineers

The Granite Cutters' International Association of America

International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union of America

International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers

International Association of Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters Helpers and Terrazzo Helpers

Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America

Operative Plasterers' and Cement Finishers' International Association

United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada

United Slate, Tile and Composition Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association

Sheet Metal Workers' International Association

Journeyman Stonecutters' Association of North America

International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America

Metal Trades Department. The Metal Trades Department devotes most of its efforts to promoting union organization and assisting local

and district councils in collective bargaining. In the negotiating of agreements with large corporations, particularly with shipbuilding concerns, the Metal Trades Department takes an active part and is frequently a signatory to the agreement along with the local or district metal trades council. The Department has direct representation on the Navy Wage Board of Review which fixes wages for the various occupations in the navy yards. It also represents the interests of its members before other legislative and executive government agencies; for example, it is active in promoting merchant and naval shipbuilding and co-operates closely with federal and state apprenticeship programs.

The Metal Trades Department holds its annual meeting in the same city and on the Monday preceding the opening of the AFL convention. Constituent unions paying per capita taxes to the Department on less than 4,000 members are entitled to one delegate to this convention; 4,000 or more, two delegates; 8,000 or more, three delegates; 16,000 or more, four delegates; and so on. Each delegate is entitled to one vote for each 100 members or major fraction thereof. Also, each local, state and district metal trades council has a delegate with one vote. The Executive Council is composed of a President, Secretary-Treasurer and six Vice-Presidents, elected annually. The President and Secretary-Treasurer are full-time officers who maintain headquarters in the AFL building in Washington, D.C.

The revenue for the support of the Department is derived from initiation fees of \$50 from each of its Internationals (paid only once) and a per capita tax of 1 cent a month for those members of its affiliated Internationals who are employed in the metal manufacturing and shipbuilding industries. Extra assessments may be levied, if necessary, by a four-fifths vote of the Executive Council.

At the present time the department has about 100 chartered local and district councils, and 15 affiliated Internationals as follows:

International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders and
Helpers of America

International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers

International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects' and
Draftsmen's Unions

International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America

International Union of Operating Engineers

International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers
International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union
of America
International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers
International Association of Machinists
Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers International Union
International Molders and Foundry Workers Union of North
America
Pattern Makers' League of North America
United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States
and Canada
Sheet Metal Workers' International Association
Stove Mounters' International Union of North America

Railway Employees' Department. The Railway Employees' Department represents the members of seven American Federation of Labor craft unions who work in railroad shops. (Most of these unions also have members in other industries and are therefore affiliated with the Building and Construction and/or Metal Trades Departments.) The Railway Employees' Department organizes what is known as "system federations" which are composed of all its members in the various craft unions working for the same carrier or railroad company. Each craft union on a system elects a general chairman, and these several chairmen constitute the Executive Board of the system federation which carries on the collective bargaining with the company.

The Department maintains general supervision over the activities of the system federations. Sanction must be obtained from the Department on all proposed agreements with employers as well as contemplated strike action, and all matters of general or common concern to all the railroad shopmen must be cleared through the Department. Jurisdictional disputes between the crafts as well as concerted demands for wage increases are referred to the Department for action. Any grievance which cannot be settled by the system federation or the International involved is referred to the Department, which decides whether or not it should go to the Railway Adjustment Board (see Chap. VIII). Only the Department may invoke the services of the National Mediation Board or enter into any arbitration of disputes between system federations and railroad companies. In addition to the activities concerning matters pertaining to its members, the Department co-operates with the independent railroad unions on matters of common interest to

all railroad workers, such as general wage increases, federal and state legislation, and issues before the Interstate Commerce Commission which affect railroad employment.

The Railway Employees' Department holds quadrennial conventions to which each system federation and each of the Internationals send delegates. Roll call votes and voting for officers, however, are on a union basis; that is, each of the member unions' votes is determined by the majority vote of the delegates within each union. The Executive Council consists of the presidents of the affiliated Internationals, the full-time President and Secretary-Treasurer maintaining offices in Chicago, Ill.

The Department is financed through \$100 initiation fees from the affiliated Internationals (paid only once), \$10 charter fees from the system federations, and a per capita tax of 18 cents a year on those members of its affiliated unions employed in the railroad industry. At present the Department has 135 system federations and seven affiliated Internationals:

International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers

International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and

Helpers of America

Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America

International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America

International Association of Machinists

Sheet Metal Workers' International Association

International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers

Union Label Trades Department. The Union Label Trades Department is composed of all the affiliated AFL unions which use labels, cards, buttons or other insignia to designate the products or services performed by their members. The purpose of the union label is to promote union organization and union standards of workmanship by appealing to the consumer. The label is especially designed to channel the purchasing power of union members, who make up a large portion of the consuming public, toward buying union-made goods and services. The Department conducts advertising campaigns, issues union label directories, and in union conventions and literature urges members and their families to patronize union goods. The Department has no authority to require union members to purchase label products;⁴ neither does

⁴The constitutions of many unions, however, specify that members and their families shall purchase union label products whenever such are available.

it control the issuance of the labels. Each union concerned establishes its own standards and requirements governing the use of its labels by employers and controls their issuance and withdrawal. The Department is merely an educational and publicity medium for promoting a demand for union label goods and services.

The Department holds its annual convention in the same city the week prior to the AFL convention. It recesses during the convention and then reconvenes to take up any matters referred to it by the AFL convention. Unions paying per capita taxes to the Department on less than 4,000 members are entitled to one delegate; on 4,000 or more members, two delegates; on 8,000 or more, three delegates, etc. The President, five Vice Presidents and the Secretary-Treasurer—the latter a full-time elected official—constitute an Executive Board which maintains headquarters in the AFL office at Washington. The Department is financed through the receipt from each affiliated union of per capita taxes of 8 cents a year for each member working on union label products or in union label or card shops. Approximately 55 Internationals are represented in the Department, which has chartered about 350 city branches.

CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

The Congress of Industrial Organizations is an outgrowth of a division within the American Federation of Labor over the issue of craft versus industrial unionism. In 1935 eight AFL unions created the Committee for Industrial Organizations and membership was later augmented by several other AFL unions and factions of unions as well as newly organized unions. In 1938 these organizations met in constitutional convention and established the Congress of Industrial Organizations. The objects of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, as defined in its constitution, are to promote union organization, to extend the benefits of collective bargaining, and to secure legislation safeguarding the economic security and social welfare of the workers of America.

Structurally, the Congress of Industrial Organizations is not unlike the American Federation of Labor with the exception that the CIO at present has no departments, although its constitution permits their establishment. Since most of the constituent unions of the CIO are industrial in character, it has not found it necessary to establish de-

partments through which various craft unions seek to settle their jurisdictional disputes and consolidate for collective bargaining purposes.

The annual convention is the supreme authority of the CIO, being held during October or November at a time and place designated by the Executive Board. Each directly affiliated local (that is, local industrial union) and each city and state industrial council is entitled to one delegate. Each International union having up to 5,000 members is entitled to two delegates; over 5,000 members, to three delegates; over 10,000, to four delegates; over 25,000, to five delegates; over 50,000, to six delegates; over 75,000, to seven delegates; over 100,000 membership to eight delegates for the first 100,000 and one additional delegate for each additional 50,000 or majority fraction thereof. Membership is based on the average number of persons for whom the union has paid per capita dues to the CIO the fiscal year preceding the opening of the convention, plus the number for which exoneration has been granted by the Executive Board.

In a roll call vote, held upon demand of 30 per cent or more of the total votes, each International union and each local industrial union is entitled to one vote for each member, and each city and state industrial council has one vote. Roll call decisions are by majority vote except in the case of suspension or expulsion of affiliates when a two-thirds vote of the convention is necessary.

The officers of the CIO, consisting of a President, nine Vice-Presidents and a Secretary-Treasurer, are elected by majority vote at each regular convention. The Executive Board is composed of these officers and "a duly qualified officer" from each affiliated International. It is the duty of the Executive Board to enforce the Constitution and to direct the affairs of the Organization between conventions and to make a report to the convention of its activities and recommendations.

Between board sessions, held at least twice a year but subject to call by the President or a majority vote of the Board, the President has full power to direct the affairs of the Organization. The Executive Board issues certificates of affiliation to International unions, the city and state councils, and the directly affiliated local unions. When a sufficient number of the latter are organized in a particular industry, it is the duty of the Board to combine them into an International union or, as a first step, into an Organizing Committee until such time as they are able to finance and administer themselves.

In its office at Washington, D.C., the Organization maintains a staff of economic and legal advisers to assist its affiliated bodies and to work in close co-operation with the various governmental agencies concerning labor matters. The Organization issues weekly and monthly publications as well as pamphlets dealing with trade unions matters. It employs about 180 organizers to assist its member unions, as well as to conduct organizing campaigns in plants and industries not included within the jurisdiction of its affiliated unions.

The revenue of the Organization is derived from a per capita tax of 5 cents per month from each member of its International unions, 50 cents per member per month from each of its directly affiliated unions plus one-half of their initiation fees, \$25 annual fee from each local and state council, and \$25 upon the issuance of a certificate of affiliation.

In 1944 the CIO was composed of 40 International unions (including several Branches which are largely autonomous); 36 state industrial councils; 232 city, county and district industrial councils, and 292 directly affiliated locals.

RAILROAD UNIONS

Labor organization in the railroad industry is predominantly along craft or occupational lines. While many of the unions are confined solely to railroad employees, a substantial number of railroad workers belong to unions which cover workers of similar crafts in other industries. Many dining car employees, for example, belong to the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance; railroad shopmen are members of the several AFL unions to which workers of those particular crafts in other industries also belong. Recognizing the special problems and needs of their railroad members, the AFL established its Railway Department, described above, which serves as a unified agency for all crafts of railroad shopmen.

About half the unions covering railroad workers are affiliated with the AFL, including some unions which are confined solely to railroad workers as well as those covering workers of the same craft in other industries. The four train service unions, commonly referred to as the "Brotherhoods," as well as several other of the important railroad unions, have always remained outside the AFL. Although they maintain harmonious relations with both the AFL and the CIO, they have

been reluctant to accept close ties of affiliation to an organization representing members from various industries and trades. In their relations both with their employers and with the government, they have considered it to their advantage to remain free to pursue those measures which are of peculiar benefit to themselves.⁵

At present there are approximately twenty-three so-called "standard" railroad unions. In addition there are a few "system associations" or "company unions" but during recent years there has been a notable reduction in these as an increasing number of railroad employees have joined the standard unions. There is some overlapping of jurisdiction between the AFL affiliates and the independents, as well as among the independents themselves. Some of the dualism is due to the fact that Negroes are ineligible to membership in some of the unions and have formed organizations of their own.

Unlike most other industries, there is extensive organization of supervisory personnel in the railroad industry. Some foremen and supervisors are organized into unions of their own, such as the Yardmasters Unions and the American Railway Supervisors Association which takes in shop foremen. In the other branches of the industry, foremen are customarily members of the same unions as the men whom they supervise.

Railway Labor Executives Association. Railroad unions, both those affiliated with the AFL and the independents, frequently unite for common action on particular measures, such as for general wage increases or for some legislation. A more continuing organization for united action is the Railway Labor Executives Association which was formed soon after the passage of the Railway Labor Act in 1926 for the purpose of "cooperative action and to obtain and develop constant interpretations and utilization of all the privileges of the Act." As its name indicates, it is an association composed of the chief executives or presidents of the member unions. Its entire program is based upon voluntary action and no member union is bound by any action of the Association which may be inconsistent with its laws or policies. While its constitution provides for majority vote, unanimous agreement is

⁵ In the field of legislation, railroad unions were successful in getting a law to protect them in collective bargaining nine years before the National Labor Relations Act was passed. The Railroad Retirement Act provides more generous old-age insurance than does the Social Security Act.

usually reached before any action is taken with respect to important questions concerning all members. Unlike the AFL or CIO, the Association does not intervene in the jurisdictional disputes between its member organizations.

At present twenty unions are affiliated with the Association. These include all the AFL railroad unions, the independent Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, the Railway Conductors, the Train Dispatchers, and the Railroad Signalmen, together with three maritime unions, namely, the AFL Longshoremen's Association and the Masters, Mates and Pilots, and the CIO Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association. Two of the large unions, the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, do not at present belong to the Railway Labor Executives Association.

CITY AND STATE CENTRAL BODIES

As indicated in the next chapter, the International unions and their subordinate organizations—locals, joint boards and district councils—are primarily concerned with protecting and improving the working conditions of members within their particular trades or industries. To take care of the many matters of common interest to workers in all trades, and to provide a means for united effort for the general improvement of conditions of labor, unions representing different trades and industries affiliate for concerted action.

The American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations represent such affiliations at the top level. Locally, there are the city centrals which are affiliates of all AFL local unions within the city, and city industrial councils to which CIO locals belong. On the state level are the AFL state federations and the CIO state industrial councils.

These city and state organizations are delegate bodies. The city organizations are composed of representatives from all the member local unions while the state organizations include delegates from the city organizations as well as all the affiliated local unions within the state. Membership in the city and state organizations is optional with the locals, although most of them belong. However, no local which does not belong to an International affiliated with the AFL or the CIO, as the case may be, may belong to their respective city and state organizations. If a local resigns or is expelled from its International, it

automatically loses its membership in the city and state organizations. Likewise, if an International resigns or is expelled from its affiliate organization—that is, the AFL or the CIO—none of its locals are entitled to belong to the city and state central bodies. The city and state organizations pay taxes directly to the AFL or CIO, as the case may be, and send delegates to their annual conventions.

The state federations and state industrial councils are concerned chiefly with legislative and educational matters. They hold annual conventions where programs of general interest to all the workers in the state are formulated, initiate legislation and appear before state legislatures, and in various ways promote organized labor's interests before the public.

The American Federation of Labor city centrals go by various names such as Trades and Labor Assembly, Trades and Labor Council, Central Labor Council, Central Labor Union. The city bodies of the Congress of Industrial Organizations are officially called "City Industrial Union Councils." In contrast to the state organizations, these city organizations deal more on the economic front, serving as clearing-houses for the locals and assisting them in dealing with employers. Most of them issue weekly or monthly papers giving the local labor news as well as important items concerning unions and workers generally. They are the agencies which, next to the local unions, touch the individual workers most closely.

AMERICAN LABOR UNIONS

TABLE I. MEMBERSHIP IN AMERICAN LABOR UNIONS¹
1900-1944

Year	Average Annual Membership	Year	Average Annual Membership
1900	868,500	1922	4,027,400
1901	1,124,700	1923	3,622,000
1902	1,375,900	1924	3,536,100
1903	1,913,900	1925	3,519,400
1904	2,072,700	1926	3,502,400
1905	2,022,300	1927	3,546,500
1906	1,907,300	1928	3,479,800
1907	2,080,400	1929	3,442,600
1908	2,130,600	1930	3,392,800
1909	2,005,600	1931	3,358,100
1910	2,140,500	1932	3,144,300
1911	2,343,400	1933	2,973,000
1912	2,452,400	1934	3,608,600
1913	2,716,300	1935	3,890,000
1914	2,687,100	1936	4,700,000
1915	2,582,600	1937	7,400,000
1916	2,772,700	1938	8,000,000
1917	3,061,400	1939	8,200,000
1918	3,467,300	1940	8,500,000
1919	4,125,200	1941	10,500,000
1920	5,047,800	1942	12,000,000
1921	4,781,300	1943	13,500,000
		1944	13,750,000

¹Source: 1900-1935 Leo Wolman, National Bureau of Economic Research, Bulletin 68, 1937, New York.
1936-1944 Estimates of Bureau of Labor Statistics, Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.

CHAPTER IV

INTERNATIONAL UNIONS

THE International unions are the autonomous, self-governing units of the labor movement. Even though an International is affiliated with a larger body such as the American Federation of Labor or the Congress of Industrial Organizations, it retains its independence as a self-governing organization so far as its internal affairs are concerned. Even with respect to outside activities, an affiliated union exercises wide latitude. It may, for instance, on its own initiative sponsor political programs and legislative measures so long as such endorsements do not violate the fundamental principles and policies of the general labor movement with which it is affiliated.

The one major restriction placed upon affiliated unions is that they shall confine themselves to the trade jurisdiction assigned them by their federated bodies; a counterpart of this cardinal rule is that they shall not participate in dual unionism. However, while refusal to abide by the jurisdictional rulings of the federated body means expulsion, it does not mean disintegration of the union itself. If the jurisdiction it seeks does not impinge upon that of the unions already members of another affiliated group, it may transfer to this group (for example, from the AFL to the CIO, or vice versa); or it may carry on as an independent organization, expanding its jurisdiction at will.

INTERNATIONAL UNIONS AND THEIR RELATION TO LOCALS

There are at present 174 labor organizations whose jurisdictions are broad enough to justify their being called International or National unions; 102 are affiliated with the AFL and 40 with the CIO.¹ In

¹ The American Federation of Hosiery Workers and the Federation of Dyers, Finishers, Printers and Bleachers of America are here considered as separate organizations although technically they are "departments" of the Textile Workers Union of America.

addition, there are 6 AFL National Councils and 2 CIO National Organizing Committees which have semiautonomous status although they are not yet chartered unions. Several of the 32 nonaffiliated unions have at one time belonged to either the AFL or the CIO but for various reasons have withdrawn or been suspended. Most of them, including eight of the railroad unions and six organizations of government workers, have always had an independent status.

Historically, International unions are amalgamations of local independent organizations. With the establishment of the International, however, the local units surrender their autonomy and much of their independence. Although the degree of centralized control varies considerably among the Internationals, all locals are necessarily subordinate to their International organizations. They must abide by their International's constitution, which specifies the general rules by which the locals are to operate, and they must accept all the regulations adopted by their International's conventions.

The relationship between the Internationals and their locals is somewhat different from that of the AFL or CIO and their affiliated Internationals. While neither the AFL nor the CIO attempts to regulate the internal affairs of its Internationals, the latter exercise direct control over many major activities of their locals. An International's constitution, for example, not only defines the conditions under which a local may be chartered, but it may specify the amount of dues and initiation fees its locals may charge, the requirements for acceptance of members, the procedures for dealing with employers, and even work rules which the local members must observe.

While the constitutions of the AFL and CIO specify the amount of per capita taxes which their Internationals must pay, neither organization has the power to examine the membership records of its affiliates to see that they have paid in full; the Internationals, on the other hand, have authority to examine the books of their locals at any time and in most cases the locals are required to submit audited reports at regular intervals.

The chief functions of the International are to extend union organization throughout the trade or industry over which it has jurisdiction in order that uniform working standards may be obtained, to advise and assist its locals in negotiating agreements with employers and to see that such agreements are adhered to, and to participate in the program of the federated organization (AFL or CIO) to which

it is affiliated. Many of the Internationals maintain staffs of economic and legal advisers to assist their locals as well as the International officers; practically all publish weekly or monthly periodicals for distribution to their members.

The methods by which the International accomplishes its purposes vary according to the rules and traditions of the union, its leadership, the condition of the industry, as well as the general economic situation at any particular time. Under some circumstances, for example, the International may deal directly with an employer or an employers' association, although usually the local or local joint board is the active party in negotiating agreements. Some International constitutions require locals to obtain permission from their International officers before a strike may be called; others merely lay down rules such as requiring a majority vote of the members affected before calling a strike. However, if the local expects financial aid from its International in the form of strike benefits, the approval of the International officers is always necessary.

TERRITORIAL COVERAGE OF INTERNATIONALS

Labor organizations in this country are commonly called "International" unions because most of them have some members in Canada² as well as the United States. A majority of their constitutions describe their coverage as extending throughout "the United States, its territories and possessions, and Canada" although some specifically cite Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico and the Canal Zone as well as continental United States and Canada. The constitutions of some unions, especially the railroad and maritime organizations, add Newfoundland and Mexico and a few indicate "North America" or "Central and South America" or "the entire Western Hemisphere." Even though their constitutions may designate broad coverage, few, if any, of the standard labor unions at the present time have locals outside the United States and its possessions, and Canada.

Within the territorial jurisdictions defined in their constitutions, there are wide differences in actual coverage between the various unions. This may be due to the nature of the industry, or to the fact

² Their Canadian membership is not extensive, however. The total number of union members in Canada in 1943 was 664,533 (*Labour Gazette*, August, 1944). Probably less than half of these belonged to locals of American International unions.

that the union has not expanded into all possible localities. Many of the building and printing trades unions, as well as the teamsters (truckdrivers) and street-railway and bus unions, have locals in most of the cities of the United States and Canada. On the other hand, retail clerks and other service trades unions are at present confined to the larger cities.

Unions covering manufacturing employees, maritime workers, and miners are necessarily limited to the localities where such industries exist. Some of these unions, however, are more limited than the industries in which they function. Usually this is due to the fact that the union has not yet succeeded in organizing the entire industry. In the maritime industry and, to a lesser extent, in the shipbuilding and some other industries, this is the result of several rival unions functioning in different regions in the same industry and trade.

SIZE AND JURISDICTION

International unions vary in size from fewer than 100 members to over a million. The Siderographers, with a paid-up membership of 48, is the smallest existing union while the Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers, with a membership of approximately 1,052,000, is the largest American labor union at the present time. More than one-half the Internationals have between 10,000 and 100,000 members and almost 20 per cent have over 100,000 members.

Differences in size of labor organizations may be due to any one or several of the following reasons: the jurisdictional character of the union; the extent to which the union has been able to organize the trade or industry in which it has jurisdiction; the number of workers employed in the trade or industry. In general, unions covering entire industries, or several categories or trades, tend to be larger than those confined to single crafts. Practically all the 10 unions which now have fewer than a thousand members are confined to particular skilled trades, some of them in trades now becoming obsolete.

The six unions with over a half million members, on the other hand, include employees in all or most of the occupations within an entire industry or even several industries. The largest union, the Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers, as its name implies, covers three expanding industries. The United Steelworkers' jurisdiction covers workers in both steel and aluminum production and fabrication

plants. The United Mine Workers includes not only bituminous and anthracite miners but workers engaged in coal processing, chemical, and other industries. While the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners,

TABLE II. INTERNATIONAL UNIONS CLASSIFIED BY SIZE^a

Membership	AFL	CIO	Ind. ^b	Total	
				Number	Per Cent
Under 1,000	8	..	2	10	5.9
1,000 under 10,000	22	5	10	37	21.2
10,000 under 25,000	20	6	7	33	19.0
25,000 under 50,000	20	11	4	35	20.1
50,000 under 100,000	14	9	5	28	16.0
100,000 under 200,000	9	3	3	15	8.6
200,000 under 300,000	2	1	..	3	1.7
300,000 under 400,000	3	2	..	5	2.9
400,000 under 500,000	1	1	..	2	1.2
Over 500,000	3	2	1	6	3.4
TOTAL	102	40	32	174	100.0

^a According to 1944 membership.

^b Does not include any organization whose membership is confined to the employees of a single plant or locality.

the Association of Machinists, and the Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers originally were confined largely to particular groups of workers, they now accept persons employed in all or most of the occupations in related industries and plants.

Internationals whose jurisdictions cover related but somewhat distinct sections of the industry may be organized into departments or branches which retain a large measure of autonomy; the branches or departments usually have their own constitutions and executive officers and may hold separate conventions although they are also represented at the conventions of the International of which they are a part.

In some cases this branch form of organization represents an amalgamation of formerly separate unions, as, for example, the Associated Actors and Artistes of America;³ the hosiery, and the dyeing and

³ The Associated Actors and Artistes of America is in reality a federation of 11 groups organized along industry, craft and nationality lines. Its affiliated organizations are: Actors' Equity Ass'n, Brother Artists Ass'n, Chorus Equity Ass'n, Hebrew Actors Union, Hebrew Chorus Union, Hungarian Actors and Artists Ass'n, Italian Actors Union, American Guild of Musical Artists, Amer-

finishing departments of the Textile Workers Union; the men's hat and millinery departments of the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers; the die casters, which recently amalgamated with the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers. Some branches are the result of a union's extension into related industries, as, for example, District 50 of the United Mine Workers, which includes members in a variety of industries and occupations outside of coal mining.⁴

In contrast to such consolidations as are represented by departments or branches within an International is the situation in some industries where there are several unions, each of which covers a distinct branch of the industry. (This should not be confused with rival union situations or unions established along craft or occupational lines.) In the glass industry, for example, there are different unions in the glassware, glass container and flat glass sections of the industry. In the maritime industry the land workers belong to different unions than the seamen. Most of the workers in the wallpaper manufacturing trades belong to different unions than workers in other paper products plants.

INTERNAL GOVERNMENT

Conventions. The supreme authority and sole legislative body of the International is the general convention, composed of delegates from all its local organizations. Because of the importance of the conventions as the final authority on all union matters, the frequency and regularity with which they are held, the distribution of voting power, and the manner in which business is conducted are important criteria of a union's democratic administration. Ever-tighter control by a few officers inevitably results, for instance, when conventions are postponed from year to year, and if the attending delegates are predominantly the paid organizers or representatives chosen by the officers.

Three-fourths of the International constitutions provide that conven-

ican Federation of Radio Artists, Screen Actors Guild and the American Guild of Variety Artists.

⁴ District 50 originally covered workers in coal-processing plants and coke ovens, but in 1942 the United Mine Workers' constitution was changed to include "such other industries as may be designated and approved by the International Executive Board." Coal mining has always been organized on a geographical district basis. When the United Mine Workers began organizing the coal processing workers they termed the unit a "district" although it has no territorial significance.

tions are to be held either annually or biennially and may be postponed only by referendum vote of the membership. About one-fifth of the Internationals, including the railroad brotherhoods, hold conventions every three or four years, while several, mostly unions with small membership, hold conventions quinquennially.

The constitutions of approximately twenty unions make no provision for regular conventions; in some cases each convention decides when the next convention shall be held, although most commonly a membership referendum is required. Some of the latter specify that a referendum vote to determine the holding of a convention shall be held every year or every two years. A very few provide for a referendum vote as infrequently as every five years. Most of the unions which do not have a regular time for holding conventions are relatively small, although a few are large expanding organizations. Among the latter is the Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union whose constitution provides that a referendum shall be held every five years to determine whether a convention shall be held.

To take care of unforeseen or emergency problems, practically all union constitutions provide for the calling of special conventions. Sometimes these may be called only upon the initiative, or at least with the approval, of the General Executive Board; many, on the other hand, provide for the calling of special conventions upon majority vote in a membership referendum initiated by a specified number of locals located in at least several different states. Usually only such matters as are announced in the referendum vote may be discussed at such special conventions.

Conventions are attended by delegates from all the locals, the number and voting strength depending upon the paid-up membership. The basis of representation, that is, the number of members required per delegate, varies considerably among the unions although the general practice is to allow a decreasing ratio of delegates as the size of the local increases in order to avoid too great domination by the large locals. The presidents and other officers of the locals are customarily chosen to be delegates; in large locals, of course, they are accompanied by other members elected by the membership.

To ensure full attendance, the traveling expenses and per diem are frequently paid out of the International's treasury although in many unions the locals defray the expenses of their delegates. In some cases the reimbursement by the International is limited to travel expenses

beyond a specified number of miles or to the expenses of delegates from locals which have experienced heavy drains upon their treasuries because of strikes or other reasons.

The cost of holding conventions represents a considerable item in total union administrative expenses and is the chief reason some unions do not hold conventions more frequently. The largest union, the CIO Automobile Workers, which holds annual conventions, estimates that it costs the International and the various locals a total of \$600,000 for each convention.⁵

General Executive Boards. Every International has a General Executive Board, or International Executive Council as it is sometimes called, which is responsible for the administration of the union's affairs and which serves as an appellate body on matters referred to it by the locals as well as individual members. Typically, an International constitution says: "The General Executive Board shall execute the instructions of the International convention and shall be the highest authority of the union between conventions, and shall decide all questions of interpretation of the constitution between conventions."

Although not the same in all unions, most General Executive Boards have the responsibility and authority to issue and withdraw local charters and to repeal any local's by-laws which do not conform to the International constitution; to remove any officer for incompetency or nonperformance of duties, and to fill the vacancy until the next convention; to take charge of the affairs of any local when it is decided this is necessary "to protect or advance the interests of the union"; to pass upon all claims, grievances and appeals from locals and other subordinate bodies; to reverse or repeal any action of any International officer; to select auditors for the auditing of books, and to prepare the report for the forthcoming convention; to have supervision over the policy and publication of the official journal; to determine the amount and methods of bonding all officers who handle union funds, and to levy assessments in accordance with the terms of the constitution.

In unions having strike and death benefits, the General Executive Board is usually responsible for these funds and their disbursement. Some unions, especially those which maintain sick and disability programs or a home for aged members, have a Board of Trustees whose members may also be members of the General Executive Board or may be other members elected at the convention. The Trustees are bonded

and have power to transact the legal and financial duties in connection with the benefit funds and union property. In some cases the Trustees are given the responsibility for the periodical reports on all the funds of the union which are submitted to the Board and to the convention. It is generally specified whether the Trustees shall appoint an outside auditor or themselves examine the books of the Secretary-Treasurer.

Most General Executive Boards are composed of the International President and Secretary-Treasurer together with a specified number of Vice-Presidents. The President and Secretary-Treasurer are usually full-time officers, their salaries generally being specified in the constitutions although in a few unions they are determined by the General Executive Board.⁶ The Vice-Presidents are usually paid on a per diem basis, the amount being specified in the constitution. Most generally the Vice-Presidents, who are chosen on a regional or branch of industry basis, also hold office in their local or district organizations which they continue to hold while serving as members of the Executive Board. Some unions, however, have a number of Vice-Presidents on a full-time basis. In such cases these elected officers perform functions commonly done by staff persons in other unions, such as organization work, administering benefit programs, etc.

The General Executive Board usually meets two or four times a year to discuss and receive reports of the full-time officers, consider appeals and requests of the local membership, plan ways and means of carrying out the decisions of the conventions, and to prepare the agenda for the forthcoming convention. While the Board acts as a policy and general supervisory body, the day-to-day administration rests with the full-time officers who are, as already indicated, most frequently the President and Secretary-Treasurer. The latter is usually bonded and is responsible for the collection and disbursement of all moneys as well as the submission of financial and other reports to the Board and to the convention. Where the union employs no editor or research staff, the Secretary-Treasurer may also have charge of the publication of the *Journal* and the assembling of data for use in collective bargaining and for arbitrators and government boards.

INTERNATIONAL OFFICERS

Duties of the President. The General President is necessarily vested with the chief responsibility for the day-to-day conduct of the union's

⁶ See Chap. VIII for further information on officers' salaries.

affairs. As in any other organization, the actual powers and influence exercised by an elected leader depend about as much upon the will and ability of the person holding the office as upon the authorities formally granted by the constitution. Through the prestige of his office, as a presiding chairman and ex officio member of committees, the union President has great influence in determining what and how matters are discussed and voted upon at Executive Board meetings and general conventions. As administrator of the union's day-to-day activities, his decisions and course of action vitally affect not only the internal affairs of the union and its members but also public opinion.

Most union constitutions describe the general duties of the President somewhat as follows: "The General President as chief executive officer shall have full authority to direct the working of the organization within the provisions of the constitution; he shall convene and preside at all General Executive Board and convention meetings and between sessions execute their instructions; he shall be an ex officio member of all committees and appoint all committees not otherwise provided for; he shall supervise and be responsible for the work of all organizers and levy assessments according to the provisions of the constitution and make a full report of all union activities to the General Executive Board and the convention."

While there is a great deal of uniformity in the various constitutions as to the specific duties assigned to their Presidents, the degree of final authority vested in the President differs among the several unions. A majority of the constitutions specify that the President shall have authority, subject to the approval of the General Executive Board and appeal to the convention, to decide all questions of interpretation of the constitution, to issue and revoke charters to locals and joint councils, to appoint and dismiss organizers and other union employees, to remove or suspend local officers, to sanction strikes and allocate strike benefits.

Some constitutions give the President final authority on some of the above-mentioned matters, while in others the extent of the President's final authority is somewhat ambiguous, both the Executive Board and the President seemingly having final responsibility. In such constitutions the sections dealing with the duties of the President may state that he has final authority on specified matters and that "nothing in this constitution shall be construed to conflict with any of these aforementioned provisions." However, in the section describing the duties of the General Executive Board may be statements indicating that the

decisions of the President on these same matters are subject to appeal to the Board.

A very few unions unequivocally give their Presidents very broad powers which, if fully exercised, would enable them to initiate basic rules and policies and have final authority to expel members and officers and revoke charters of local organizations.⁷

Organizers. An important part of the International union's staff are the organizers, more accurately referred to as "International representatives." They may be permanently assigned to particular districts or regions or they may work out from central headquarters and travel from place to place wherever the union has members or potential members. While the initial function of an organizer is to solicit new members and establish new local organizations, his continuing function is to act as adviser to all the locals within his region with regard to both their internal union affairs and their relations with employers. An organizer is the point of contact between the International Office and the local organizations. It is his responsibility to interpret the aims and policies of the International to the local officers and members and to keep the International officers informed of the conditions and problems of the locals.

In some unions the organizers are elected by the convention and may serve as delegates with voting power. In most unions they are appointed by the General President or Executive Board and are considered staff employees even though they usually, but not always, have been active union members. When appointed, they generally are not

⁷For example, the President of the American Federation of Musicians (AFL) "is authorized and empowered to promulgate and issue executive orders which shall be conclusive and binding upon all members and/or locals; any such order may by its terms (a) enforce the Constitution, By-laws, Standing Resolutions, or other laws, resolutions or rules of the Federation, or (b) may annul and set aside same or any portion thereof, except such which treat with the finances of the organization and substitute therefor other and different provisions of his own making . . ." (Page 20 of Constitution, Effective June 1942.)

The President of the Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators has the authority to carry out "the expressed purposes of the Alliance, not only along the lines expressly herein indicated but in a broad general manner, and the International President shall have and is hereby specifically given the power to issue such rules, regulations, orders or mandates as he may deem necessary or advisable in the conduct of his said office." (Page 21 of Constitution, Effective June 8, 1942.)

allowed a voice or vote at the convention—a measure obviously designed to discourage one group of officers from perpetuating its administrative control.

Research Directors. In response to the growing need for factual data in their bargaining with employers and dealings with legislatures and other government agencies, many Internationals employ the full-time services of economists and statisticians to assist the general officers as well as the locals. Most of the CIO Internationals and an increasing number of AFL, railroad, and other independent unions now have research directors who not only collect and analyze needed economic data but frequently take an active part in presenting their union's case before employers, arbitrators, government boards, and legislative committees. In some unions the research director also promotes and supervises educational activities for union members and especially union stewards.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

In about three-fourths of the International unions the general officers are elected by the delegates assembled at their regular conventions, while approximately one-fourth of the unions choose their officers by referendum vote of the general membership. In a few of the latter, candidates are nominated by convention but elected by majority vote through referendum.

Differences in method of electing officers, i.e., by convention or referendum, have no significant relationship to the size or age of the unions or their affiliations: While many of the small unions use the referendum method, some of the largest organizations also elect their officers by referendum, for example, the AFL Carpenters and Machinists, the CIO Steelworkers and the United Mine Workers.⁸ On the other hand, the CIO Automobile Workers and the AFL Teamsters elect their offi-

⁸ The constitutions of the Mine Workers, Steelworkers and the Machinists, which are typical of those providing referendum, specify the following procedure: Nomination blanks are sent to the various locals by the International office a number of weeks before the date of election and each local chooses its nominees for the various offices. According to the Mine Workers and the Steelworkers, candidates must be endorsed by a minimum number of locals and a plurality determines the election. According to the Machinists, the two who receive the greatest number of endorsements for each office are the candidates and a majority vote determines the election. In the latter union a tabulation of all nominations, showing the locals making the endorsements, is published in the union's journal prior to date of election. In all three unions ballots with

cers by convention vote as do all the standard railroad unions. The long-established printing trades unions and the more recently established Newspaper Guild use the referendum method.

As with the election procedure of any private organization or political body, both methods have their advantages and disadvantages, theoretical and practical. While the referendum system would seem to offer a more democratic means of expression, many unions feel that this is an unwieldy method to use where members are widely scattered throughout the country; that in actual practice it is not so conducive to popular choice of officers as the convention method where assembled delegates have an opportunity to discuss the relative merits of candidates before casting their ballots. From union experience there is nothing to indicate that one method is inherently better than the other or that the results of most union elections would have been materially different if the reverse method had been used. Personality and other factors seem to have a greater bearing on the choice of union officials than the mere mechanics of the election procedure.

Whatever the reasons, union practice follows more closely that of business corporations than political governments in that the same persons tend to be re-elected year after year. It has been the experience with most unions, at least with respect to the presidency, that once having been elected to office, the same incumbent usually retains office until retirement or death. In only one union, however, has lifelong tenure been legalized: in 1943 the AFL International Longshoremen's Association amended its constitution and elected its president and second vice-president for life.

Continuation of the same persons in office year after year may be an indication that such persons are providing the kind of effective leadership which the members want or think is obtainable; it may be due simply to long-standing custom, or a reflection of workers' feelings about security of tenure with its implication that one who has given satisfactory service should be retained on the job until retirement. On

the nominations entered are sent to the various locals several weeks before election and members vote on the specified date and at the place designated and previously announced by the local. Local tellers (composed of the president, financial and recording secretaries and such others as the members elect) forward the tabulation of votes by registered mail to the International Secretary-Treasurer who turns them over to the International tellers (previously elected by referendum) for final counting. Local officers must preserve all individual ballots for a given number of months in case a dispute arises over the counting of ballots.

the other hand, repeated re-election of the same persons may not be conclusive evidence of the wishes of a majority of the members but a result of the difficulties in the way of their making a change.

This strikes at the very heart of the problem of union administration, namely, the need to maintain a united front with strong, unchallenged leadership for effective employer dealing and, at the same time, to preserve maximum freedom of expression among members. Opposition to those in office may be a manifestation of a healthy and legitimate desire for change in personnel and policy, but to those favoring retention of existing officers it may be interpreted as an effort to disrupt and weaken the union. Some unions and officers have gone far to discourage opposition movements by action at individual elections, as the histories of some union elections will reveal, as well as through the enactment of formal rules.⁹

According to some opinion, the dangers of disruptive influences could be minimized without sacrifice of democratic action if unions, like democratic governments, had formal party systems to which members with kindred ideas and programs could openly align themselves and legitimately compete for their candidates' election. One union, the International Typographical Union, has long maintained a two-party system, each party preparing and campaigning for its own slate of officers at each election.¹⁰

Other unions during certain periods of their history have had active left-wing and right-wing movements with each faction campaigning for its own candidate at elections. Unlike the Typographers, where the parties are divided on questions of internal union policies and procedures, the factional movements in the needle trades, the CIO Automobile Workers, and some other unions have been based primarily on external political ideologies, although, of course, the outcome of their elections also vitally affects the course of the unions' activities and policies.

⁹ An example is the provision in the Carpenters' constitution which reads: "Any member, local union, District Council, Provincial or State council which sends out any letter or letters or circulars of a scurrilous or defamatory nature against any candidate for office in the United Brotherhood, unless such candidate has been charged, tried and found guilty of a violation of some provision or provisions of the laws of the Brotherhood, shall be expelled." (Sec. 9-J.)

¹⁰ For a discussion on democratic procedures in union elections see "Opposition to Union Officers in Elections" by Philip Taft in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Harvard University Press, February, 1944.

CRAFT VERSUS INDUSTRIAL UNIONS

The kind and variety of occupations and workers included within a union's jurisdiction has far-reaching effects on employer-union bargaining relations, on interunion relations, as well as upon the size and character of the union itself. What the jurisdiction of a union is at any given time is determined by the union, subject to the approval of its affiliated body. In so far as it does not trespass upon the claimed jurisdiction of any other union affiliated with the same general organization (that is, the American Federation of Labor or the Congress of Industrial Organizations, whichever the case may be), a union may expand its coverage at will. Likewise, it may choose not to include certain occupations or groups of workers. In the case of an unaffiliated or independent union, the only limitation on its jurisdiction is its ability to enlist the support of the workers it wishes to have as members.

While the constitutions and sometimes the names of the unions are designed to indicate their claim to coverage, jurisdictional lines are never fixed or settled over a long period of time. Unions tend to respond to the changes taking place in industry itself, and in a dynamic industrial situation there necessarily are frequent amalgamations as well as divisions, transfers and expansions of jurisdictions. Realignment in the corporate or managerial units of business, increasing mechanization, changes in materials and processes, bring about conditions which call for adjustments in union jurisdiction.

Such changes are likely to create potential areas of conflict between unions, resulting in jurisdictional disputes, rival and dual unionism. One of the major concerns of organized labor has been to find ways and means to settle amicably these recurring problems of adjustment to changes in business structure and processes.¹¹ If the adjustment is too delayed or is not sufficiently adequate, it may jeopardize the very existence of a union; it may even cause serious defections or upheavals in the entire labor movement. Over the years a number of once powerful unions have declined or disappeared completely because they have clung to the limited jurisdiction of a particular skilled trade which gradually became obsolete. The major cause of the split in the general labor movement in 1935, which resulted in the formation of the CIO, was over the question of union structure and jurisdiction.

¹¹ See Chap. XIII for discussion of methods used to settle jurisdictional disputes.

Types of Unions. To indicate their general type of jurisdiction, unions are sometimes referred to as being either craft or industrial in character. A strictly craft union consists of workers who have undergone an apprentice training and whose acquired skills enable them to carry through to completion a particular process, usually requiring manual dexterity with tools. A craft union crosses industry lines since industries producing entirely different commodities or services include some processes or occupations which are similar. In contrast, an industrial union is identified with a particular industry and covers all the workers, skilled and unskilled, who are engaged within that industry.

As a matter of fact, few unions at the present time fall within either of these extreme categories of craft versus industrial organizations, and no two persons would classify existing unions alike. As an example of some which most nearly approximate pure craft unionism might be cited the Diamond Workers' Protective Union (AFL), the Journeymen Horse Shoers (AFL), Association of Siderographers (AFL), Window Glass Cutters' League (AFL), Wire Weavers' Protective Association (AFL), Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association (CIO), Locomotive Engineers (Independent).

A number of unions are multicraft, that is, they include several parallel and somewhat related occupations. Usually these represent an amalgamation of two or more unions which in some instances is indicated by their names. For example, Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers (AFL), Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers (AFL), Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' (AFL), Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians (CIO), Marine Firemen, Oilers, Watertenders and Wipers (Independent).

Illustrations of unions whose jurisdiction covers an entire industry are the United Mine Workers (Independent), United Steelworkers (CIO), Marine and Shipbuilding Workers (CIO), Operative Potters (AFL), and both the AFL and CIO shoe, clothing and textile unions.

Some unions can be termed multi-industrial since they include within their jurisdiction workers engaged in all occupations in several different industries. Their names usually suggest the industries they cover: United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers (CIO), United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO), United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers (Independent), Bakery and Confectionery Workers (AFL), Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees (CIO).

The majority of unions are variants of craft and industrial unionism and are usually referred to as semi-industrial. They may include one or more skilled groups along with several auxiliary semiskilled trades or helpers and assistants; or they may have a broad jurisdiction and take in all the production workers within an industry except the maintenance or certain specified technical and skilled workers. The former may represent a movement in the direction of industrial unionism; the latter usually indicates that the skilled workers were already organized and were unwilling to lose their identity when the movement was started to unionize the entire industry.

In general, the trend is toward industrial unionism. So far as bargaining with employers is concerned, joint councils of craft unions are being utilized to an increasing extent. The CIO is definitely committed to organize on a broad basis¹² and many of the former AFL craft unions are now admitting into membership the semiskilled and unskilled workers within plants where formerly they took in only particular skilled craftsmen. In a few cases these semiskilled and unskilled workers, or "production" or "general" workers as they are sometimes referred to, are given the status of "B" members, paying less dues than the journeymen, or "A" members, if they are not covered by the union's old-age and other benefit programs.

The printing unions are examples of a move in the opposite direction from industrial unionism. Originally the Typographical Union covered the entire printing industry. In 1888 the Pressmen formed their own union and during the following years one printing craft after another withdrew to form separate unions. In order to protect union standards throughout the industry, however, Allied Printing Trades Councils have been formed in most cities for the purpose of promoting uniform collective bargaining policy among the various printing unions, and to issue joint union labels to employers dealing with member unions.

Flexible Jurisdictions. Although there are a few examples of pure craft and pure industrial unions, any categorical listing of all labor organizations is likely to be misleading if not inaccurate. Not only do unions readjust their jurisdictions from time to time in response to in-

¹² One of the objectives of the CIO, as given in its constitution, is: "To extend the benefits of collective bargaining . . . by forming labor unions capable of dealing with modern aggregates of industry and finance."

dustrial changes, but the same union may function on a craft basis in some branches of an industry and as an industrial union in others. The Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, for example, operates as a craft union in building construction and as an industrial union in logging camps and in furniture plants. This union is sometimes referred to as a "vertical" union since its jurisdiction is built around the commodity of wood—from the tree to lumber to building and furniture.

The Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen functions as a craft union in local retail stores but as an industrial union in the packing industry. The Brotherhood of Electrical Workers operates as a craft union in outside construction work but is frequently organized on an industrial basis in plants manufacturing electrical products and equipment. Although the Association of Machinists functions as a craft union in railroad shops and confines its members to the skilled crafts in some other plants, in an increasing number of instances it is including all production workers. While the Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers operates as a craft union in most industries, in some shipyards it has jurisdiction over practically all production and maintenance workers. The Teamsters' Union functions both as a craft and as a semi-industrial union; many of its locals are composed of specific types of drivers; others include drivers of all kinds; some locals include garage mechanics, and in the dairy industry the union covers most of the inside workers as well as deliverymen.

In some International unions which claim jurisdiction over an entire industry, many or all of their locals may be formed on craft lines. This is especially true with the clothing and shoe unions where members on different occupations in the same plants frequently belong to different locals. Thus, in clothing there may be locals comprised of cutters, machine operators, pressers, finishers, etc., although these locals are usually united into joint boards for purposes of bargaining with single employers or employers' associations. While the CIO Automobile Workers is an outstanding example of a large industrial union, certain skilled groups, such as toolmakers, maintenance employees, etc., have locals and joint councils of their own.

The present jurisdictions of some International unions represent expedient compromises worked out between the unions themselves, or through appeal to the American Federation of Labor or the Building and Construction Trades Department or, in the case of railroad unions, by the National Mediation Board. For example, the Brotherhood of Paper Makers and the Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill

Workers reached an agreement in 1909 which gives jurisdiction over the skilled workers in the machine and beater rooms to the Brotherhood of Paper Makers and all other workers in the industry to the second organization. In 1911 the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers Union and the Operative Plasterers' and Cement Finishers Association entered into a working agreement which grants the latter the sole right to organize unions composed exclusively of plasterers although the former may accept plasterers in their mixed locals in communities where there are limited numbers of plasterers employed.

In 1930 the Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers acknowledged the rights of the Sheet Metal Workers to manufacture and install all sheet metal work of No. 10 gauge or lighter. As a result of several agreements negotiated by the American Federation of Labor over a period of years, the jurisdiction of various branches and occupations in the glass industry has been assigned to different unions: In 1901 jurisdiction of glass containers was taken from the American Flint Glass Workers Union and given to the Glass Bottle Blowers Association. In 1934 exclusive jurisdiction of cutting was given to the Window Glass Cutters' League and all other flat glass work to the Federation of Flat Glass Workers. (Subsequently, however, the Federation of Flat Glass Workers withdrew from the AFL, gradually extended its jurisdiction, and affiliated with the CIO as the Federation of Glass, Ceramic and Silica Sand Workers of America.)

Although all the railroad unions are craft organizations, there is a great deal of overlapping jurisdiction. Through the numerous elections held by the National Mediation Board among the workers on the various railroad systems in different localities, persons employed on similar occupations have chosen different unions as their bargaining agents. On some systems the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen represents the engineers and conductors although usually, of course, these crafts are represented by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen or Order of Railway Conductors of America. Also, switchmen may belong to the Switchmen's Union or to the Trainmen. The yardmasters are scattered among half a dozen different unions, including two which are for yardmasters exclusively. While most of the dining car cooks and waiters belong to the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance, some belong to the Order of Railway Conductors, some to the Trainmen, and some to the United Transport Service Employees.

CHAPTER V

LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS

Most local unions are subordinate units of Internationals which define their locals' powers and duties and through which the Internationals reach and control the activities of their members. In addition to the locals which belong to the Internationals, there are local organizations directly affiliated with the AFL and CIO, referred to by the AFL as "federal labor unions" and by the CIO as "local industrial unions." These directly affiliated locals are usually confined to trades and industries for which there are no suitable Internationals and as soon as a sufficient number have been organized within any industry they generally form into an International. Sometimes there is an intermediary "council" (AFL) or "committee" (CIO) stage during which the AFL or the CIO, as the case may be, extends parental supervision and assistance before granting an International charter.

Most generally it is the local union that deals with employers for their members although the parent organization may assist in particularly difficult or important situations. To the union member, his local is his point of contact with the other organized workers in his trade or industry; it is the agency to which he expresses his demands for better working conditions and seeks settlement of his grievances, and through which he participates in the broader political and economic programs of his union.

SIZE AND JURISDICTION

There are at present approximately 60,000 local unions in the United States. They range in size from seven to a dozen members, the minima specified in most International constitutions, to memberships of over 100,000. The large majority have a membership of less than two or three hundred; probably about 10 per cent have more than a thousand members, while only two or three have more than 100,000 members.

About a third of the total number of locals are in the building and printing trades unions which have numerous, relatively small locals scattered throughout many communities.

Locals may be organized on an occupational or craft basis and/or on a plant or multiplant basis. The unit of organization of a local does not necessarily parallel the jurisdictional boundaries of its parent body; e.g., many locals of the clothing and other industrial unions are organized on a craft basis. Locals for each craft covering numerous employers in the same city or area are common in the building, printing, metal and trucking industries. Railroad locals are organized on a craft basis by railroad systems.

In manufacturing, locals confined to single plants are most common in unions whose jurisdictions cover all occupations within an industry. However, large locals covering all or most workers in a number of establishments in the same city and industry are not uncommon. These latter are sometimes referred to as amalgamated locals, the membership in each factory constituting a branch of the amalgamated local. Each branch elects its own stewards or bargaining officials and holds its own membership meetings, although some amalgamated locals also hold general membership meetings. If such general meetings are held they are infrequent, perhaps once or twice a year to elect officers and to determine general policy. Some amalgamated locals are, in effect, merely delegate bodies to which the various factory branches send representatives. Most amalgamated locals, however, maintain the financial records of each member, the dues collectors and stewards in each shop reporting directly to the local's office.

RELATION OF LOCALS TO THEIR INTERNATIONALS

Each local is required to adopt a constitution and by-laws to guide its functioning, and most International constitutions provide that local by-laws must be submitted to the International Executive Board for ratification before a charter is issued, and any amendments thereafter. Violation of established rules and regulations may result in suspension or expulsion from the International. In this way, the International controls the basic policies and procedures adopted by its locals and makes sure that their policies conform to those of the International. Membership qualifications, area and trade jurisdiction, and methods of suspension and expulsion of members are among the matters subject to

control by the International. Within these limits, however, the day-to-day policies and activities of the local union are determined by its membership.

While subject to the rules of the International, each local has a voice in the formulation of these rules and policies through representation at the general convention. The number of delegates which a local may send to the convention, the highest governing body of the union, is dependent upon its paid-up membership as prescribed in the International's constitution. Even though not specified in the constitution, the president of the local is ordinarily selected as a delegate and will be accompanied by others elected by the membership if the local is of sufficient size to permit more than one delegate.

Relation to City and State Central Bodies. Local unions are encouraged and sometimes required by their Internationals to join the city and state central bodies belonging to the same affiliated movement. Thus an AFL International may require all its locals to belong to the proper city central and to the state federation. Likewise a CIO union may require, or at least urge, all its locals to join their respective city and state industrial councils. Similarly, if a local's charter is revoked, it may no longer be a member of these city and state bodies and is thus deprived of the assistance and prestige which ensues from affiliation.

LOCAL OFFICERS

The constitutions of most Internationals specify the various officers which their locals are required to maintain although the choice of individuals to hold these offices and their pay are determined by the locals. Officers are usually elected for one-year terms, although in some unions longer terms up to four years are specified. The elections procedure which locals must follow is usually outlined in their International's constitution and these rules usually require notice to all members of the pending election, open nominations and majority vote in a secret ballot.

The qualifications for local union officials are sometimes more rigid than qualifications for mere membership. In all cases nominees must be in good standing with the local and in some instances must have been a member a certain length of time, such as one year, before becoming candidates for office. Procedures to be followed and causes for

the removal of local officials are usually outlined in the International constitutions. If a local officer violates his International constitution or convention resolutions, the International may expel him. For other causes a specified proportion of the local membership may file charges and demand an investigation and trial. An expelled local officer has the right of appeal to his International Executive Board and finally to the convention.

In small locals the elected officers usually continue to work at their trade and receive no regular salary from the union; the presidents and vice-presidents are generally paid a few dollars for each meeting over which they preside, while the secretary-treasurers are paid a few hundred dollars a year for keeping the books.

Although it is more common to have the secretary-treasurer on a full-time basis than the other officers, a number of larger locals have found from experience that it is better to employ trained bookkeepers than to have members elected from among their ranks to perform the detailed duties connected with the office of secretary-treasurer. Maintaining membership roles and recording the dues of hundreds and thousands of members scattered among numerous plants, and collecting and disbursing thousands of dollars a year, requires a special knowledge which an increasing number of locals are recognizing by employing trained bookkeepers or accountants.

Business Agents. In addition to the regularly elected officers, most unions have so-called "business agents" who are full-time paid employees of the locals with no definite term of office, thus providing continuity to the local's activities. Most business agents have served as officers and have been experienced workers in the industry, and thus know the language of the trade. As employees of the locals, they have no vote but may give advice and suggestions to the membership and elected officials. As a practical matter, the business agent usually exercises a great deal of leadership over the local and its affairs.

The functions of a business agent cover the entire field of the local's activities. He usually accompanies the grievance chairman or goes by himself to the higher officers of the firm to settle those grievances which the shop steward is unable to settle with the foreman. In smaller locals with no other full-time officers, he maintains the union's office and files and sometimes collects dues, especially from delinquent members. His duties may include such activities as preparing the

local's newspaper and other publicity, arranging social functions, and setting up the agenda for local meetings. He meets with the executive board and any other special committees which may be functioning. In the building trades and some other unions, the business agent often performs an additional function in maintaining the union's hiring hall.

Shop Stewards. Strictly speaking, a shop steward is not an officer of the local, although he is the union representative who comes in closest contact with the members. It is his job to see that union conditions are maintained in the shop. Unless there is a check-off arrangement, he may also collect dues. His chief function, as indicated in Chapter XIV, is to handle the grievances which members have against their employer.

Stewards are not elected in general union membership meetings, but are usually elected by the members in each department of a plant. In large plants the various department stewards, or in some cases the workers in the plant as a whole, elect a chief steward who represents the union in negotiations with higher plant officials. If the local covers only one plant, the president of the local may function as the chief steward and, in many cases, the plant grievance committee is in reality the executive board of the local.

MEMBERSHIP MEETINGS

The local union meeting is the medium through which the membership controls the policies and activities of the union. Many International constitutions specify the minimum number of membership meetings that must be held each year. Although the monthly meeting is the rule, two or even more meetings are held every month by some locals. Special meetings are called whenever necessary by the local's executive board and, in some unions, special meetings may be initiated by a petition signed by a specified number of members. The agenda for local meetings is set forth in the local's constitution and by-laws. In some cases, the International constitution also outlines the program to be followed by its locals, especially concerning such matters as the proper reporting of finances and activities to the membership.

As with other kinds of voluntary organizations, many unions experience great difficulty in getting full attendance at meetings. Although poor attendance is no indication of lukewarm loyalty to the union, as is evidenced by the wholehearted response during a crisis such as a

strike, nevertheless the character and effectiveness of a union are strongly influenced by the attendance at local meetings, since control of any organization's affairs inevitably goes to the few faithful attendants who may or may not be representative of the entire membership.

In order to ensure maximum attendance and avoid complaints from members that measures were adopted about which they had no knowledge, many unions require their members to attend all or a specified minimum number of meetings a year. For unexcused absences fines are imposed, with possible expulsion for repeated absences. In some unions, fines are imposed only in case of unexcused absences from the annual meeting where financial reports are read and new officers are elected; other unions charge double their usual fines for nonattendance at such special meetings.

JOINT BOARDS AND COUNCILS

Joint boards and trades councils are combinations of locals having jurisdiction within related trades or the same industry. In some unions they are referred to as joint boards, while in others they are called city or district trades councils. Whatever their title or exact geographical coverage, their primary purpose is to secure united action in collective bargaining and uniform working conditions among the employers within the same industry in a given city or area. With most unions it is mandatory to have a joint board or council whenever the union has a given number (usually three or more) of locals within the city or area, and most Internationals require all their locals within the community to belong to the council after it is once established.

Joint boards or trade councils are delegate bodies composed of representatives from all the locals affiliated with them. Their authority and responsibilities vary among the different unions. In a few instances they are not much more than advisory bodies; most generally, however, they have supreme authority over the member locals and become their governing body. They may have broad powers to determine jurisdictional disputes between locals, to try cases against local unions and officers, and to hear appeals from disciplined and expelled members. Frequently the joint board or council negotiates the agreements with employers and has the sole authority to call strikes.

There are two types of joint boards or councils: (1) those composed of locals of the same International, usually referred to as joint boards and (2) those composed of locals of different Internationals

having jurisdiction over allied trades in the same industry, usually referred to as trades councils.

In the clothing and textile industries, as an example, the joint boards are made up of locals of the same Internationals. Although these Internationals are industrial in character, their locals may be organized on a craft basis, on a plant basis, by section of the industry, or may be "mixed," i.e., include workers of various occupations within the industry. The joint boards may represent all or most of the various craft and mixed locals within the entire industry in a city or region. In a large clothing center, there may be joint boards for different branches of the industry, such as knit goods, dresses, coats and suits, 'custom tailoring, neckwear, etc. Similarly, the Teamsters' joint councils may be composed of locals covering distinct types of trucking or delivery service, for example, milk delivery, department store or parcel delivery, heavy trucking and moving vans.

Because of the scattered nature of the coal industry, the district council is the autonomous unit over the locals of the United Mine Workers which has 30 district organizations in coal mining. Some of these districts cover parts of states, some entire states, while a few extend across state lines. For administrative purposes the United Steelworkers has the steel-producing centers divided into 40 districts, one of which is in Canada, in each of which is a representative from the International Office. Likewise, the United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, the Hosiery Workers, and other unions have district organizations whose jurisdictions have a broader geographical coverage than a local area.

The printing, building and metal trades councils are made up of locals belonging to the several unions whose jurisdictions cover allied crafts. City allied printing trades councils, for example, include the locals of the five allied printing trades unions, namely, the Typographical, Pressmen, Bookbinders', Stereotypers' and Electrotypers', and Photo-Engravers' unions. The local councils are chartered by the International Allied Printing Trades Association which has jurisdiction over the label which is issued to all employers who deal with the printing trades locals and observe union conditions of work.

Joint action among the building and metal trades unions starts at the top level with the Building and Construction Trades and the Metal Trades Departments of the AFL, which charter the local coun-

cils and maintain supervision over them. In large cities all the locals in the same craft may belong to a joint council which in turn is affiliated with the trades council composed of the locals in the various crafts of the same industry. In some states the building trades councils have formed state councils which serve as clearing agencies for all the local and district councils within the state.

Once a joint board or district council has been established, the Internationals involved require all their locals in the area to belong in order to promote harmony among the different crafts within a community as well as to obtain unified action with the employers. For example, some of the trades councils negotiate city-wide agreements covering all their respective crafts. In lieu of a combined agreement, a council may see that the agreements of its various locals terminate at the same date and that no agreement of any member local contains any clause which will prohibit it from assisting another member union. These trade councils have supreme authority over their member locals except that they may not force a local to take any action contrary to the policies of their Internationals. Metal trades locals, for example, must receive the sanction of their Internationals before pledging support to a general movement adopted by any joint council. Also, a council may not compel a member local to join in a sympathetic strike with another local unless such a strike has been endorsed by the Metal Trades Department. In the building trades, no local is authorized to call a strike without the consent of its city council.

CHAPTER VI

MEMBERSHIP QUALIFICATIONS

THE aim of a union generally is to take in as many as possible of those employed within its jurisdiction. Although some unions may place certain restrictions on the acceptance of candidates for membership, the tendency is in the opposite direction since it is the chief aim of unions to expand their membership by accepting any and all persons who could liberally be interpreted to be employed within the trade or industry over which they have jurisdiction.

The broad provisions specified in the International unions' constitutions necessarily allow wide latitude in practice within any local organization. Also, of course, a local union may be able to circumvent the spirit if not the letter of its International's constitution. For example, the constitution may specify that there shall be no discrimination as to race, but the members of a local organization may have a tacit understanding among themselves not to recommend anyone of the colored race for membership. Likewise, a broad requirement that all applicants must be "of good moral character" may be interpreted variously upon different occasions.

CITIZENSHIP AND SEX QUALIFICATIONS

The attitude of unions on citizenship, sex and racial requirements has been dominated by the fear that recent immigrants, women and Negroes are a competitive menace to the wage and working standards which the unions have already obtained or hope to gain. Throughout the years there have been conflicting opinions within the labor movement as to the best course to follow: whether to debar these groups from membership and seek to keep them out of the trade altogether, or whether to allow them into the union and thus reduce the hazard of having entrants into the trade accept jobs under competitive nonunion

conditions. Negroes and immigrants, for example, have frequently been employed for strikebreaking and antiunion purposes¹ and women have been hired for wages which are far below union standards.

Most generally, unions have deemed it wisest in the long run to alleviate the competitive menace of persons willing to accept jobs at low standards by taking them into the unions. A majority of the International union constitutions, both AFL and CIO, are nonrestrictive. A number of unions, especially those established at the time of the heavy influx of immigrants into this country, specify that members shall be citizens or at least have applied for their first citizenship papers.

While a dozen of the craft unions restrict membership to males, most of these are in building and other trades where few, if any, women are employed. Several of these unions have accepted women as temporary members during the present war emergency and others would probably modify their sex restrictions if there were pressing need to do so. In some trades, as, for example, in the maritime industry, employment and hence membership in the unions is dependent upon licenses and certificates issued by the government. While the law does not specifically prohibit the issuance of seamen's certificates and officers' licenses to women, none in fact have been issued in this country for ocean marine service although there are a few licensed women operators for river and lake vessels.

Before the war there were probably not more than half a million women belonging to labor unions. With their greatly increased employment in war industries, their membership rapidly increased, and at the peak of war production in 1944 approximately 3 million women were members of unions.

Political Beliefs. Provisions with respect to political beliefs and affiliations have always presented a delicate problem to unions. The American labor movement has never formally aligned itself with any political party, pursuing instead the policy of endorsing or condemning candidates for public office upon their individual voting records on matters which concerned unions and workers generally. In line with this traditional policy of political nonpartisanship, unions have adhered

¹ Notable examples were the use of Negro strikebreakers in the Illinois Central Railroad shopmen's strike in 1911, in the longshoreman and railroad strikes in the early 1920's, and the importation of Negroes in the West Virginia coal fields during the 1920's.

to the general principle that there should be no political qualifications or requirements for individual members.

An important qualification to this general expression of political freedom is specified in some union constitutions and implied in others, namely, that members shall not be identified with any political program which is considered to be inimical to the present form of American democracy. Thus, a number of constitutions state: "No person shall be excluded by reason of his religious belief or political affiliation *provided* he is not a member of any organization hostile to the American form of government." In view of the current world situations, a number of constitutions have recently been amended to read: "Membership shall be denied anyone proven to be a member or in any way affiliated with the Communist, Fascist or Nazi parties, or any organization that has for its purpose the overthrow of our democratic government."

In contrast to such qualified statements are provisions in many constitutions which specify that persons shall be accepted into the union "regardless of nationality, race, religious or political beliefs or affiliation." Some constitutions are more positive by saying: "No person shall be excluded (or discriminated against) by reason of race, color, religious belief or political affiliation."

The absence of a qualified statement in a union's constitution, or a provision which seemingly places no restrictions upon political action, does not in itself indicate that the union would accept or retain persons who engage in activities commonly considered to be contrary to American union philosophy. It may merely indicate that no situation or problem has arisen within the union which would cause it to adopt a specific restriction in its constitution.

NEGRO MEMBERSHIP²

By and large, labor unions have been much more liberal in their attitude toward acceptance of Negroes into membership on an equal basis than have most other groups in this country, including churches, educational and professional organizations. Racial equalitarianism has been the policy adopted by most of the labor movement since earliest

²For a detailed discussion on the practices and policies of unions with respect to Negroes see *Organized Labor and the Negro* by Herbert R. Northrup, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1944.

times. For many years after its formation the AFL insisted that all its affiliated unions eliminate color restrictions in their constitutions in line with its declared policy that "working people must unite and organize irrespective of creed, color, sex, nationality or politics."³ Very much like the initially declared policy of the AFL is the stated object in the present CIO constitution, namely, "to bring about the effective organization of working men and women of America regardless of race, creed, color, or nationality."⁴

Precepts of conventions assembled, however, have sometimes been ignored or been abandoned altogether, due to the insistence of rank-and-file members. Not many years after its formation, the AFL began to admit unions with color restrictions and its present constitution does not mention membership qualifications. Although the matter is left to each of its constituent unions, where an affiliated International refuses to accept Negroes, the AFL frequently organizes them into locals (federal labor unions) directly under its jurisdiction.

While none of the CIO Internationals have adopted any restrictive rules against Negroes, its officers in a number of instances have had to bring pressure upon local groups not to deny Negroes the full benefits of union membership and rights established by collective agreements, particularly with reference to upgrading and seniority. In an effort to overcome such prejudices, the CIO and a number of its Internationals have established special committees on nondiscrimination for the purpose of conducting educational campaigns and to investigate and correct specific instances of Negro discrimination.

Railroad Unions. At present, absolute exclusion of Negroes by constitutional provision exists only among some of the railroad unions, although some of the locals of other unions practice race discrimination by tacit consent. Eight important railroad unions explicitly confine their membership to persons of the white race by constitutional provisions. They are:

Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers (Ind.)

Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen (Ind.)

Order of Railway Conductors of America (Ind.)

Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen (Ind.)

Switchmen's Union of North America (AFL)

³ *Conference Proceedings*, 1897, pp. 82, 83.

⁴ *1942 Constitution of CIO*, p. 5.

American Association of Train Dispatchers (Ind.)
Order of Railroad Telegraphers (AFL)
Railway Mail Association (AFL)

Several additional railroad unions which do not debar persons of the colored race from membership provide that they shall or may be organized into auxiliary locals with limited voting and other privileges. While the constitution of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks debars Negroes, in 1940 the Brotherhood took over the federal labor unions of Negro freight handlers, which the AFL had organized, as auxiliary locals. The Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees (AFL) constitution provides that its colored members shall be represented in the Grand Lodge "by delegates of their own choice selected from any white lodge." The Brotherhood of Railway Carmen (AFL) constitution states that where Negroes have "become a permanent institution" they shall be admitted in separate lodges with representation by the nearest white local.

In the railroad shops, the rules with respect to admitting Negroes are similar to the practice of the metal craft unions elsewhere (see below). In train and mail service there are three unions whose membership is composed largely of Negroes—the CIO United Transport Service Employees of America, mostly redcaps, and the AFL Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and the National Alliance of Postal Employees (Independent). The latter was originally composed of Negroes who were not eligible to membership in the Railway Mail Association but in 1923 it extended its scope to include all colored workers in the U.S. Postal Service. The Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance, which takes in colored dining car cooks and stewards, changed its constitution in 1936 to forbid its locals from discriminating against Negroes: "Any local law prohibiting the admission of any competent person, male or female, because of race, religion or color, is contrary to our laws and is therefore null and void."

Construction and Metal Trades Unions. While none of the constitutions of the building and metal trades unions explicitly bar Negroes from membership, some allow them auxiliary status only and many of their locals practice exclusion. In some instances restrictions are placed on the kinds of occupations their colored members may pursue although such restrictions may not appear in the constitutions. The Plumbers and Steam Fitters (AFL), through municipal licensing laws

and apprenticeship restrictions, have been able to exclude Negroes almost entirely; the Carpenters and Painters (AFL) usually admit them into separate locals and sometimes allow them to accept employment only under Negro contractors. While the locals of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (AFL) in the mass production industries make no color distinction, in the building trades and railroad shops Negroes are either excluded or organized into separate locals. The Machinists (AFL) locals seldom accept Negroes although they sometimes give them working permits to work on particular jobs.

The constitution of the Blacksmiths union (AFL) provides that Negro helpers shall be admitted to auxiliary locals under the jurisdiction of white locals and that colored members are not eligible for promotion to blacksmiths' jobs and may not be admitted to shops where white helpers are employed.⁵ The Sheet Metal Workers (AFL) constitution provides that Negro applicants may be organized into auxiliaries with the consent of the nearest white locals. The Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers (AFL), which previously had debarred Negroes entirely, established auxiliary locals for colored members by convention resolution in 1937. During the war shipbuilding program, when Negroes were employed in large numbers, some expressed a good deal of dissatisfaction over the necessity of having to pay dues as a prerequisite to employment under the Boilermakers' closed-shop agreements without equal membership status. When taken to court, however, the California Superior Judge held that the Boilermakers had the right to establish their own membership rules and that separate auxiliary locals for their Negro members did not constitute discrimination.⁶

⁵ At the 1943 AFL convention, President Horn said the colored members in the Brotherhood of Blacksmiths had full voting privileges. (*1943 AFL Convention Proceedings*, p. 436.)

⁶ "The court has no greater power to compel a labor organization to enter into contractual relations with an applicant for membership than to require an individual to become a party to a contract to which he had not given his assent. A voluntary organization may prescribe conditions upon which membership may be acquired and upon which it may continue and rules of conduct for members. The court is without power to enforce admission of members to a voluntary association. Membership is not a right that may be granted independently and then enforced but is a privilege that may be withheld or accorded on such terms as the association [union] sees fit to impose." (California Superior Court, Los Angeles County, Aug. 7, 1944.)

Early in 1945 the Boilermakers abolished the auxiliary status of their Negro locals. While they were not amalgamated with the white locals, the Negro locals were given full autonomy and voting privileges.

In contrast to the restrictions practiced by many of the building and metal trades unions, two unions emphatically prohibit any discrimination: The constitutions of both the Plasterers and Cement Finishers (AFL) and the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers (AFL) impose a fine of \$100 upon any member or members who are guilty of discrimination and who refuse to work with any member on account of race or color. Many building laborers are colored and the Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union accepts them into full membership.

State Laws. Four states have recently enacted legislation concerning racial discriminatory practices of labor unions. A New York statute of 1940 specifically forbids any labor organization in that state to deny membership because of race, color or creed, makes violation a misdemeanor, and provides a fine of \$100 to \$500 to be recovered by the person discriminated against.⁷ A 1941 Pennsylvania statute excludes unions which restrict membership because of race, creed or color from the benefits of the State Labor Relations Act. A 1941 Kansas law prohibits any union from acting as a collective bargaining representative which discriminates against or excludes from membership any person because of race or color. However, this law specifically excludes railroad and airline unions where race discrimination is most prone to exist. A Nebraska law, also enacted in 1941, forbids racial discrimination in collective bargaining but does not refer directly to union membership. Although not specifically directed to race discrimination, the 1937 Wisconsin Employment Peace Act states that a union may be deprived of a closed-shop agreement if it refuses to enroll any employee of the employer.

FOREMEN AND SUPERVISORS

The question of whether or not to allow or require foremen and supervisors to belong to unions has always been a troublesome problem to all parties concerned—management, unions, and the foremen themselves. Most foremen have been promoted from the machine or

⁷ Civil Rights Law, Chap. 43. In November, 1943, a State Supreme Court justice ruled that the Railway Mail Association was not bound by this law because it was a "beneficial insurance society." This decision is being appealed by the state attorney general.

On March 12, 1945, the State of New York passed an Anti-Discrimination Law, which makes it unlawful for unions or employers in that state to refuse employment or membership because of "race, creed, color, or national origin." (Amendment to Ch. 18 of the Consolidated Laws).

workbench and in organized shops, of course, were union members. If they were members of unions which maintained old-age and sick benefit plans, they naturally do not want to lose these benefits toward which they have contributed for many years. Even more important, perhaps, is the risk of losing their seniority rights with the privilege of bumping⁸ when no longer needed or wanted as foremen. This hazard is increased in seasonal industries where workmen are promoted to foremen during peak seasons and return to the machine or bench during dull seasons.

With an increasing number of foremen the urge to belong to unions is the same as that of workers, namely, to exert group pressure in order to improve their economic status. This is especially true, of course, where foremen find that as a result of assuming the duties and responsibilities of foremanship their hours are longer and their pay little more, and sometimes less, than that of some of the employees who work under them. The desire of foremen to organize into unions is increasing in large mass production industries where the authority and prestige of the foreman's position has depreciated to the point where he participates very little, if any, in formulating company policies and is given limited leeway in the application of such policies within his particular bailiwick. One among hundreds of others of his same status in the company, he is almost as anonymous to top management as the rank-and-file workers and thus feels that he has little chance for individual redress of grievances.

So far as union policy is concerned, some of the oldest unions have always favored the practice of having their foremen belong to their unions because, as members, they serve as a double check to ensure adherence to union work rules and in dealings with higher management can sympathetically interpret union aims and policies. Many unions, on the other hand, have been reluctant to allow members who have been promoted to foremen to continue their membership; much less willing have they been to allow foremen to join who have not previously belonged. This policy is based on the belief that the inher-

⁸ "Bumping" implies displacement of someone with less seniority. In most instances bumping according to seniority is confined to those employees covered by the employer-union agreement. However, in some plants where foremen are not union members, special clauses have been negotiated which give displaced foremen the right to return to their former or similar jobs according to their seniority standing before promotion to foremanship or, in some cases, according to their accrued seniority including the time spent as foreman.

ent nature of a foreman's job makes him an instrumentality of management in dealing with labor and that there can be no satisfactory commingling of management and union functions. Furthermore, many union members fear the dominant role foremen might take in union affairs if they were permitted to be active members: foremen necessarily have leadership qualities which they feel might be exercised at union meetings to the disadvantage of rank-and-file members. It is for this reason that a number of the unions which allow foremen to be members place some restrictions upon their participation in union affairs.

The alternative, however, is not necessarily between foremen not belonging to any union or being members of the same union to which their employees belong, since foremen may be organized into unions confined to persons of their own rank. There are several long-established craft unions which are composed solely of foremen and supervisors within particular industries; during recent years several unions have been established for foremen whose jurisdictions are not confined to one industry as are the older supervisors' organizations.

Foremen in Craft Unions. About thirty unions which are composed primarily of journeymen and other production workers also permit, and in some cases require, foremen to become members. Usually, these foremen have restricted voting privileges and union rules protect them from union discipline for actions necessary to their duties as foremen; in other words, while card members of their unions, they are considered to be directly responsible to their employers for the conduct of the men under them.

Union membership of foremen is general in the printing and building trades, in the metal trades in so far as they operate on a craft basis, in many of the railroad trades, and occasionally in other crafts. Separate organization by supervisory groups has long been the practice in the maritime industry, in parts of the railroad industry, and in the postal service.

In the printing industry union membership of foremen under the closed-shop agreements has been required since 1889 and the practice is so thoroughly established that it now appears to be accepted as a matter of course. Since foremen in the building trades usually work with tools along with the men they supervise, nearly all the building trades unions require foremen to be union members. Although the

AFL metal trades unions generally exclude foremen in the mass production industries, the tradition among these unions is to require foremen to be union members. In shipyards under agreements with the metal trades councils, foremen as well as working foremen are usually members of the same unions to which their mechanics belong, although foremen in the government navy yards may belong to a separate organization, the National Association of Master Mechanics and Foremen which is also affiliated with the AFL.

The general practice in the maritime industry is for the unlicensed seamen to make up one unit and for officers to be separately organized. The National Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots (AFL), United Licensed Officers (Independent), and National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association (CIO) are all unions of supervisory groups.

There is extensive organization of supervisory personnel in the railroad industry, although the practice varies as to type of organization: Some foremen and supervisors are organized into unions of their own while in some crafts they belong to the same unions as the men whom they supervise. In engine service, the engineers and firemen are usually, but not always, in separate unions. In yard service, some of the supervisors belong to the yardmasters' unions, although others are members of the train service and the switchmen's unions. The railway clerks, telegraphers, signalmen and maintenance of way unions accept supervisors as members and the seven craft unions in railroad shops include "leader men." Some foremen in the railroad shops, however, belong to the American Railway Supervisors' Association (Independent) or to the Supervisors of Mechanics which is a separate unit under the AFL Railway Employees' Department.

In the postal service there are separate organizations of Postal Supervisors, District Postmasters, and Officials of the Railway Mail Service. Although the CIO Textile Workers Union normally excludes foremen from membership, supervisory technicians in the Dyers and Printers branch in Paterson, N.J., belong to the Textile Foremen's Guild, which is a local of the Textile Workers Union.

Foremen in the Mass Production Industries. In contrast to the craft unions composed primarily of skilled journeymen, other unions have traditionally excluded foremen from membership as well as coverage under their agreements. The constitutions of at least 37 international

unions specifically exclude supervisors and foremen although some permit subforemen and section leaders to be members. While the constitutions of 120 unions do not mention foremen, presumably in most of them foremen are excluded, although some of their locals may include foremen in the absence of a constitutional provision debarring them.⁹ Most generally the restrictions against membership of supervisors refer to all persons who have the right to hire, discharge, and enforce management rules.

Union membership of foremen in the mass production industries became an active issue a few years after the effective organization of the production workers by the newly organized industrial unions. A foremen's local affiliated with the CIO demanded recognition from the Chrysler Corporation in 1939 during a strike of production workers but the CIO withdrew this demand in order to obtain settlement of the production workers' dispute. Subsequently, in 1941, foremen from numerous Detroit automobile plants organized into an independent union, the Foreman's Association of America, which later expanded its membership into other industries and areas.

Meanwhile foremen were organizing in the mining, shipbuilding and other industries, generally into separate locals, which were affiliated with the Internationals to which the production workers belonged. When their demands for employer recognition were refused, their cases were presented to the National Labor Relations Board for determination.

Foremen and the National Labor Relations Act. The status of foremen under the National Labor Relations Act turns on the question of whether or not foremen are "employees" within the meaning of the act. Unlike the Railway Labor Act, the National Labor Relations Act does not expressly include subordinate officials (in contrast to general managers and highest corporate officials) as "employees." Following the passage of the NLRA in 1935, those craft unions which allowed or required foremen to be members were not disturbed since the board, in

⁹ A number of unions which do not allow foremen to be active members permit members who are promoted to foremanship to become honorary members or receive retiring cards which entitle them to automatic reinstatement without payment of an initiation fee, should they later return to worker status. In the unions having old-age and other pension programs, as honorary members they retain their accrued rights to benefits by continuing to pay that portion of the dues which goes toward financing these activities.

determining an appropriate bargaining unit, followed the practice of excluding or including foremen according to the customary practice in the industry or union.

In 1942 the board made its first decisions with respect to newly created foremen's groups in industries where previously such persons had not been included in any collective bargaining unit. Certification was granted on the grounds that supervisors were not specifically excluded in the NLRA, as were several other groups such as agricultural workers and domestic servants, and that their inclusion would otherwise effectuate the policies of the act. In no case, however, did the board sanction the establishment of new bargaining units composed of both foremen and their subordinates, although it endorsed a foremen's local which was affiliated with a National union composed of production workers.¹⁰

A year later, in 1943, the board reversed itself by declaring that "the benefits which supervisory employees might achieve through being certified as collective bargaining units would be outweighed not only by the dangers inherent in the commingling of management and employee functions, but also in its possible restrictive effect upon the organizational freedom of rank and file employees."¹¹

This decision did not make it illegal for foremen to be members of existing unions or to organize into new unions: it merely denied to

¹⁰ In the matter of the Union Collieries Coal Company (Case No. R-3464) the Board ruled that assistant foremen, fire bosses, and coal inspectors were employees and protected by the act; in the matter of the Godchaux Sugar Corporation (Case No. R-4114) the board ruled that working and nonworking foremen and bench chemists constitute a unit appropriate for collective bargaining and may choose the same union as their representatives which represents ordinary production and maintenance workers.

¹¹ Matter of Maryland Drydock Company (Case Nos. R-5212-14). This was a 2-1 decision, a change in membership on the board having taken place after the 1942 decisions whereby the minority opinion became a majority. The minority report in the Maryland Drydock case said among other things:

"... the majority fails to give proper weight to the distinction between the two essentially different aspects of the position of foremen. On the one hand, they are agents of management, carrying out (although not formulating) management policies in the plant, mine or shipyard. As such they act for management at the first step in the handling of grievances of rank and file employees; but they do not, in most cases, make decisions on grievances except in minor matters. They have no active part in the collective bargaining conferences between management and the union of rank and file. In fact, one of their grievances is the lack of provision for conferences between management, foremen, and men on problems affecting all three groups. On the other hand, they are employees, in groups running into hundreds and even thousands in the great war industries, with serious problems of their own, as

them the protection of the right to collective bargaining under the National Labor Relations Act. These groups of foremen who had been seeking union recognition were bitterly disappointed but did not cease their efforts.

The Foreman's Association of America obtained a contract from the Ford Motor Company in 1943 but met with determined resistance from the other motor manufacturers. A general strike of foremen in the Detroit automobile industry took place in the spring of 1944 which seriously affected war production. The War Labor Board thereupon asserted jurisdiction over this strike by claiming that, although foremen are representatives of management in their relations with the workers they supervise, they have the status of employees as between themselves and management and thus have a "common law right" to organize and bargain collectively.

Meanwhile the National Labor Relations Board somewhat altered its previous stand by stating that foremen are employees within the meaning of the unfair labor practices section of the NLRA and thus may not be discriminated against because of their membership in unions. The majority opinion of the board, however, held that, while employers may voluntarily recognize foremen's unions, the act should not be

employees, in their relations to the management. It is these problems, not whims, which have led to the current movement by these men for self-organization and collective bargaining. . . .

"The employers' case against foremen's organizations and collective bargaining, in addition to the fallacious claim that supervisors are management and not employees, repeats many of the arguments formerly used by anti-union employers against the organization of rank and file employees in these same industries. It is said that supervisors have no need for collective bargaining, that they can get individually anything they could obtain through belonging to a union, that they advance on individual merit. It is said that if organized, they would no longer perform their duties properly, and that there would be a serious threat to production, even chaos. . . . There is scant reason to assume that such speculations are any more justified in the case of the group in question than they have proved to be in the case of the organization of mass production workers."

In a later case (6R396, July 10, 1944) this same member concurred with the other two in disallowing certification of a local of District 50, UMW, on the grounds that supervisors controlled the local. Said this member: "That the interests of supervisory groups in collective bargaining are distinguishable from those of rank and file employees is potent. While both interests are properly deserving of encouragement by this Board, optimum results toward this end may satisfactorily be achieved by the realistic recognition that such interests are furthered when appropriate demarcation lines are observed."

interpreted to compel such recognition.¹² A few days after this decision the New York State Labor Relations Board granted recognition to a local of the Foreman's Association, holding that foremen constitute an appropriate unit for collective bargaining and that it had authority to certify such a group even though they were engaged in interstate commerce since the National Labor Relations Board will not entertain petitions for such certifications.¹³

In March, 1945, the National Labor Relations Board again reversed its position, a majority decision holding that foremen were entitled to protection under the NLRA. While sanctioning independent unions composed of foremen only, the Board intimated that it would "apply appropriate remedy" if a foremen's organization it had certified should lose its independent character and create situations "which result in difficulties that prove insoluble."¹⁴

APPRENTICES

In trades which require prolonged apprenticeship, the unions are concerned with the intake of apprentices into the trade as well as the acceptance of journeymen members. Regulations restricting the number of entrants into a trade and rules for training apprentices are for the purpose of maintaining standards of skill and workmanship as well as to protect the job opportunities and wage rates of journeymen members.

Rules regarding apprentices are included in the constitutions of most of the International unions whose jurisdictions are confined largely to skilled crafts, although some unions leave the matter to be settled locally. Local regulation is especially prevalent in large industrial unions where the bulk of the members are in occupations which do not require extended apprenticeship training. In such unions, those members who are engaged in particular, skilled trades are frequently organized into craft locals which establish apprenticeship rules similar to rules adopted by the International craft unions. Thus, for example, the

¹² Matter of Soss Manufacturing Company and Republic Steel Corporation and the Foreman's Association of America (Cases Nos. 1148, 1569), May 8, 1944.

¹³ Allegheny Ludlum Steel Corporation and Foreman's Association of America. (Case WE-373, May 24, 1944.)

¹⁴ Packard Motor Car Company and the Foreman's Association of America, March 26, 1945. Case No. 7-R-1884.

Tool, Die and Maintenance Councils of the United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America (CIO) in and around Michigan recently adopted a standard journeyman card procedure for postwar use in order to protect the apprentice rules and all-round skill requirements which wartime dilution of jobs had disrupted.

Included in most apprenticeship rules are age requirements for entrance, number or proportion of apprentices allowed in a shop, length of apprenticeship period, and requirements for acceptance to journeyman status. Rules may specify that applicants for apprenticeship must be not under eighteen years or over twenty-two years of age, that there shall be no more than one apprentice to every five or ten journeymen in every shop, and that sons of union members must be given preference. Some constitutions specify that apprentices must join the union as soon as accepted; others within a specified period thereafter. Sometimes apprentices are not taken into the union until they qualify as journeymen, although almost always they are required to be registered with the union.

In some trades, applicants must pass certain aptitude and physical examinations before being admitted to apprenticeship. After admittance, the training period is most frequently three or four years, with a probation period of three to six months. A number of unions have adopted the program of the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship,¹⁵ which includes, among other recommendations, the establishment of local employer-union committees to supervise apprentice training.

The methods by which apprentices demonstrate their competency and qualifications for journeymanship vary among the unions. In some cases the applicant must be endorsed by both the employer and the journeyman under whom he has served; some local unions conduct examinations, written and oral, while others require a practical demonstration on the job. Some unions impose a considerable fine on any member who endorses a candidate whom he knows not to be a competent worker.

¹⁵ Established in 1934 in the Department of Labor (transferred in 1941 to the War Production Board) in order to foster and promote a better national understanding of the philosophy of indentured apprenticeship; and to develop and recommend adequate minimum standards to be used in indenturing apprentices.

CHAPTER VII

MEMBERSHIP RULES

IN ANY trade or industry where labor organizations are active, every worker and employer is directly or indirectly affected by the rules and regulations having to do with acceptance and retention of members in the union. In all plants where collective bargaining exists, the non-union employee as well as the union member is bound by the terms of the contract negotiated by the union. If a nonunion employee is dissatisfied with those terms and decides to join the union in order to bring about changes in the employment contract, he immediately becomes interested in the union's qualifications for acceptance.

Membership rules become of paramount importance in those trades and plants where contracts require union membership as a condition of employment.¹ Under such closed- or union-shop agreements, members already employed are interested in the rules for maintaining good standing while applicants and potential applicants for positions are concerned with the union's entrance requirements. The employer also is vitally interested since his choice of workers, and perhaps even the

¹ The courts have generally ruled that complete responsibility rests with the unions so far as their membership rules are concerned, even though membership restrictions might hamper or debar particular workers from jobs. In the decision mentioned in n. 6, Chap. VI, reference to a number of previous decisions were made; for example:

"These organizations are formed for purposes mutually agreed upon; the right to make by-laws and rules for the admission of members and the transaction of business is unquestionable; . . . no person has any abstract right to be admitted to such membership; that depends solely upon the action of the society (union), exercised in accordance with its regulations. . . ." (*Mayer v. Journeymen Stonecutters' Ass'n*, 47 N.J. Eq. 519.)

"Unless a person has acquired some right to membership in a local union, he cannot compel its members to admit him as a member." (*Maguire v. Buckley*, 301 Mass. 355, 360.)

"The court cannot compel a union to accept anyone to membership irrespective of the cause of refusal 'whether for a good or bad reason.'" (*Frank v. National Alliance of Bill Posters*, 89 N.J.L. 380, 381.)

number he may employ, is affected by the union's regulations pertaining to admission, transfer and expulsion of members.

The recruiting of new members and the passing upon their qualifications are primarily the responsibility of the local organizations. Although many of the Internationals assist their locals in organization drives, practically all make acceptance or rejection of an applicant subject to the vote of the local membership. For the purpose of securing general uniformity, however, most of the International constitutions specify certain broad precepts to be applied by their locals. Many of these consist of minimum qualifications which their locals are required to impose; others are specific restrictions which their locals are required not to impose.

A basic regulation with all unions is that membership shall be confined to those actually or normally employed in the trade or industry over which the union has jurisdiction.² A common provision is "all persons working within the union's jurisdiction" or "all persons in the trade." Some unions specify "of good moral character" and "of sober and industrious habits." A few, generally those having benefit features, establish maximum age limits, such as fifty to sixty years, and require a physical examination for admittance. Usually, however, candidates not meeting the health and age standards are admitted as nonbeneficial members.

ACCEPTANCE INTO UNION

An individual who wishes to become a union member applies to the local union having jurisdiction over his place of employment. If he is seeking employment in a "closed shop" he must, of course, be a member before going to work. In a union shop he accepts employment upon condition that he will join the union within a specified time—usually thirty days.³ In a plant where there is no closed- or union-shop agreement, if an employee decides to join the union, his application is usually presented by his shop steward to the local union having jurisdiction in the plant.

Applicants' names presented at the local union meetings are usually

² A few unions have honorary members who may never have worked at the trade. Also, several unions allow their officers and staff to become members if they have not gained membership through practice at the trade. More common, however, is the requirement that officers and higher staff employees must have worked at the trade before taking office.

³ See Chap. XII.

accepted as a matter of course. Where unions supply workmen for the employer through the union hiring hall, as in many of the skilled trades, the union assumes responsibility for the competency of its members. In such unions, an applicant usually must be endorsed by at least three or five journeymen members who have knowledge of his ability and such older members may be fined, according to some union constitutions, if they endorse a person who they have reason to know was not a qualified workman. In some unions a special committee is appointed to investigate an applicant's qualifications as to skill as well as past employment and union record. Some unions require a trial period on the job before acceptance into full membership and others stipulate a specified earning capacity which, by implication, is evidence of acceptable qualifications.

Whether or not the union requires preliminary investigation, all candidates' names are presented for action at the local membership meeting. For acceptance, some unions require a majority, others a two-thirds, favorable vote of members present. A number of union constitutions specifically prohibit any of their locals from requiring more than a two-thirds favorable vote. In contrast, a few unions permit and/or require rejection of a candidate if as few as five adverse votes are cast. In order to guard against hasty action, some unions provide that if an applicant is voted down the first time his name must be voted upon at the next meeting, and sometimes at a third successive meeting, before final rejection. If finally rejected, the rules may specify that the name may not be presented again for a given length of time, for example, six months. Similarly, if an applicant is rejected by any local, some constitutions state that he may not be accepted by any other local of the union within a specified time, without the consent of the first local.

In order to avoid personal discrimination, some unions restrict non-acceptance of candidates except for specified reasons and provide appeal to the General Executive Board. A few constitutions permit the General Executive Board to allow persons who have been rejected by a local on "insufficient grounds" to become members-at-large. In a few of the small craft unions, where job opportunities are limited, permission from the International President or the General Executive Board is required before a local may finally accept a new member.

When an applicant has been favorably voted upon he becomes a member upon the payment of his initiation fee, although in some in-

stances the entire initiation fee or a specified portion must be deposited at the time application is made and, if the prospective member does not appear within a specified time to be initiated, he usually forfeits all the fees he paid at the time of application.

SUSPENSION AND REINSTATEMENT

After once joining the union a member is expected to continue his membership so long as he remains employed in the industry or trade within the union's jurisdiction. For that reason the term "resignation" is seldom, if ever, used by unions. If a member changes jobs but remains in the trade or industry over which his union has jurisdiction, he obtains a transfer; if he retires or changes his occupation to one outside the jurisdiction of his union, he applies for an honorable withdrawal or retiring card. Any separation from the union other than honorable withdrawal or transfer would be cause for suspension as, for example, dues delinquency or, as happens infrequently, for expulsion because of violation of union rules.

Union constitutions generally provide that if a member fails to pay his dues for a certain length of time—most commonly two or three months—he automatically loses his good standing. With most unions loss of good standing is equivalent to suspension or cancellation of membership. Some unions, however, allow an interim period during which the member in arrears is deprived of "voice and vote at meetings" but retains his nominal membership. During this interim he would not be dismissed from his job if he were working under a closed-or union-shop or maintenance-of-membership agreement. If, however, his delinquency continues, say for six months, he is automatically suspended. While most union constitutions specify that members shall be notified of their delinquency, failure to receive such notification does not exonerate them from suspension.

If a member works for an employer who has a checkoff arrangement with the union, dues paying automatically continues for the duration of his employment with that employer. In some plants which do not have the checkoff, union officers are privileged to collect dues within the workplace or at the factory gates on payday. Elsewhere it is the responsibility of each individual member to go to the local union headquarters to pay his monthly or weekly dues.

Requirements for reinstatement of suspended members vary among

the different unions. In unions with low initiation fees, where there is no closed- or union-shop agreement, members may be inclined to allow their dues to lapse, if rejoining at any time is too easy. Such lapses in membership tend to take place after a wage increase or other improvement in working conditions has been obtained or, conversely, during times when the union is not able to gain immediate benefits for its members. In unions with relatively high initiation fees, the membership is more likely to be stable, since the cost of re-establishing good standing more than offsets continued payment of dues.

As a deterrent to frequent lapses in membership, most unions require the full payment of all back dues and assessments in addition to a specified reinstatement fee. This is especially true if the person has been continually employed in the interim. In some cases the reinstatement fee, or rejoining fee as it is sometimes called, is less than the original initiation fee; where the latter is nominal, the reinstatement fee is likely to be somewhat higher. Some unions make no distinction but require their suspended members to pay the regular initiation fee in addition to all back dues and assessments. A few require no payment of back dues or assessments but have a relatively high reinstatement fee, for example, as much as \$30 or \$50.

Where the lapse of membership has been for an extended period of time, for instance, a year or more, it is common practice to require the payment of only three or six months' back dues in addition to the reinstatement fee. If a union, because of depressed business conditions or for other reasons, has grown weak and has suffered heavy losses in membership, it may offer the cancellation of all back dues as an inducement for mass rejoining during the period of an organization drive.

EXPULSION

While expulsion for causes other than nonpayment of dues is infrequent, it nevertheless is a serious matter and may prove a hardship in individual cases. This is especially true where unions have closed- or union-shop agreements with most or all employers in the industry or locality, in which case expulsion from the union is tantamount to depriving a member of employment within his trade.

Unions naturally consider those actions by individuals or groups which jeopardize the existence or prestige of the union to be the most serious offenses, such as instigating internal factional disruption, pro-

moting or aiding a rival union, or going to court about internal union matters. Here, of course, unions face the same problem as any political or other organism; namely, the inherent contradictions of group solidarity versus individual freedom.

In their day-to-day functioning, unions and union officers are continually faced with the problem of how to impose the discipline that is necessary for effective group action and at the same time preserve maximum freedom of speech of the individual; how to maintain organizational cohesion and unity of purpose and at the same time retain sufficient flexibility to permit group protests which might result in changes in customary procedures. Permissible grounds for expulsion and the methods by which they are consummated are important criteria of the way a union seeks to reconcile the necessities of efficient administration with maximum freedom of expression and action by its members.

Although some union constitutions do not specify particular causes for expulsion, all of them carefully outline the procedure to be used when charges are brought against a member. In many constitutions the grounds for expulsion are described in such general terms as "violation of union rules" or "continued offense against the union." A number add to these general terms such specific offenses as intemperance or selling alcoholic beverages (common among railroad unions), accepting a job declared unfair by the union, working in a nonunion shop, strikebreaking or, conversely, going out on strike without the sanction of the union. Essentially such constitutional provisions are designed to permit expulsion only when basic union rules are violated.

In contrast are the provisions in a number of constitutions which itemize numerous causes for expulsion which, if enforced, might result in the expulsion of a member who openly voiced dissatisfaction or who sought to solicit votes for a change in union program or officers. Such potential infringements on members' freedom of speech generally turn on such clauses as "making untruthful statements," "impugning the motives of officers," "misrepresenting the union and its officers."⁴

⁴The constitutions of several unions include in their definition of "conduct unbecoming a union member" such clauses as: "Any officer or member circulating or causing in any manner to be circulated any false or malicious statement reflecting upon the private or public conduct, or falsely or maliciously attacking the character, impugning the motives or questioning the integrity of any officer of the International union, or officer of any District Council or a local union shall be deemed guilty of conduct unbecoming a member and subject to fine or expulsion."

The distinction between allowable and forbidden activities in connection with members' efforts to bring about changes in union government and program hinges on what constitutes "attempts to create dissension among members," "advocating or attempting to bring about a withdrawal of any member or group of members," "working in the interests of any cause which is detrimental to the union," "hampering any local or National officer."⁵

Obviously such clauses are subject to various interpretations under given circumstances. Their potential dangers are greatly mitigated, if not eliminated, if accused members are ensured a fair trial before a heavy fine or expulsion is imposed. With few exceptions, the constitutions of International unions provide for open hearings for trial and at least a majority, more generally two-thirds, vote of the local membership, and progressive appeal from local union action to the International President, the General Executive Board, and finally to the International convention, or, in a few instances, referendum vote of the entire membership.

In a few unions, the International President may take the initiative in the disciplining of members although theoretically, at least, appeal is possible to the general convention. Most generally, the power of the President to suspend a member is limited to actions which jeopardize the union's existence or reputation, such as "promoting dual unionism," going to civil courts over "internal union matters," or publicly attacking the union.⁶ Several unions require as part of their oath of office or

⁵ The constitution of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (AFL) includes the following among the offenses for which members may be fined or expelled: advocating or attempting to bring about a withdrawal of any local union or any member or group of members; sending letters or statements, anonymous or otherwise, or making oral statements to public officials or others which contain untruths about or which misrepresent the union, its officers or representatives; creating or attempting to create dissatisfaction or dissension among any of the members; working in the interest of any organization or cause which is detrimental to or opposed to the union; mailing, handing out or posting cards, handbills, letters, marked ballots or political literature of any kind, or being a party in any way to such being done in an effort to induce members to vote for or against any candidate or candidates for office in a local union, or candidates to conventions. (Article XXVII.)

⁶ The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (CIO) constitution states: "Any International officer may file charges against any officer or member of any local for violation of the Constitution, by-laws or convention decisions of the International, or for making false charges, unfounded accusations or malicious attacks upon any International official outside of a regular meeting of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's

admission to membership, a promise not to resort to any court "to secure redress of wrongs" before exhausting all the remedies provided by the union, and if a member goes to court the President may automatically suspend him.

Provisions for expulsion were an issue in a number of cases before the National War Labor Board where maintenance of membership was requested by the union, and the employer objected on the grounds that he would be compelled to dismiss an employee who was expelled from the union for exercising "free speech." The board usually granted the maintenance-of-membership clause on the assumption that, while such union constitutional provisions represented a potential danger, seldom have members actually been expelled for such reasons. The board, however, provided that if a case of expulsion on these grounds arose, the matter should be referred to arbitration before an employee was discharged from his job under the maintenance-of-membership award.

The common procedure in a discipline case is for a member or officer to file specific charges at a local membership meeting. A trial committee is thereupon chosen by the president or elected by the members to investigate and conduct hearings. In some unions the committee's report to the local membership consists of a statement of findings only; in most unions the trial committee submits a verdict and recommendation for action, along with the evidence. In either case the accused member has the right to appear before the entire membership in his own defense. In most instances of discipline a fine is usually levied for the first offense and some constitutions specify the maximum amounts of fines which may be charged. Most unions require a two-thirds affirmative vote of all members present at the meeting, for the levying of fines or for expulsion. If the accused is acquitted, according to the rules of some unions, the committee may "investigate the intent of the accuser."

The constitution of practically every union gives an expelled member the right to appeal to his International Executive Board and, finally, to the convention. Right of such appeal is provided also where heavy fines, which might be tantamount to expulsion, are voted by the local for disciplinary purposes. In most cases a member who is expelled from one local may not be admitted by another without the approval of the

Union or one of its locals, or outside of any official publication of the International or of one of its locals, or for any other act calculated to impair the dignity of the International organization." (Article VIII, Section 3.)

first local, and some unions also require the approval of the International Executive Board. A few unions put a time limit of six months or a year before any expelled member may rejoin; in all cases, of course, the expelled member must pay all outstanding fines as well as the usual, or sometimes a higher, rejoining fee.

TRANSFERS AND WITHDRAWALS

A change-of-job situation may cause or require a change in union membership. A member may accept employment in another locality even though he continues in his same trade, or he may accept employment in an entirely different line of work; he may be promoted or demoted to an occupation lying outside the jurisdiction of his union, or he may retire because of advanced age, prolonged sickness or disability.

The most frequent change in the employment situation of a union member is that of transferring from one job to a similar job in another plant or locality. Such a shift of jobs would not entail a change of union but merely a transfer from one local to another local if the same International had jurisdiction over both jobs. Transfers between locals of the same International are usually accepted as a matter of course. However, if a local already has unemployed members it may refuse to accept requests for transfers, although some Internationals require their locals to accept all requests for transfers, especially to members of at least two to five years' standing. A few Internationals permit transfers from any other International affiliated with the American Federation of Labor or the Congress of Industrial Organizations, as the case may be, on the same basis as they provide for transfers between their own locals.

For special or temporary assignments, "courtesy privileges" may be extended a member from an outside local. Some of the craft unions issue "traveling cards" which permit the holders to take jobs for a limited length of time in any community without formal application for a transfer, provided, of course, the local in that community is not on strike. Before accepting a new job, however, he must register with the local having jurisdiction over the job and pay dues to this local as long as he continues on the job.

A member wishing to make a permanent transfer must obtain a "clearance card" from the local to which he belongs, which indicates he is a member in good standing with paid-up dues and assessments.

If he is not in good standing, his former local usually has the right to demand that all unpaid dues be paid before the second local may accept him as a member. If he has been expelled for other reasons than arrearages, most constitutions specify that no local may accept him without the consent of the local from which he was expelled. Some constitutions go further, by requiring clearance through the International Union office.

Most generally the transfer or clearance card, for which a slight charge of 25 or 50 cents may be made, relieves the member from paying any initiation dues to the local to which he transfers. Since the amount of initiation fees varies greatly between the locals of some unions, it is general practice to require those who have not been members for as long as one or two years to make up the difference when transferring to a local having higher initiation fees.

When a member changes his line of work or accepts a job in an occupation or industry outside the jurisdiction of his union, he usually obtains an honorable withdrawal card which gives him the privilege of returning to his original union whenever he wishes. He may, however, choose to retain his membership, especially if he has accrued old-age or other benefit rights. Membership in more than one union is allowable, provided, of course, there is no active rivalry between the unions within the plant or trade. During the war, many workers continued to pay dues in their old unions when they accepted temporary employment in plants under the jurisdiction of other unions—even when the second was a union of a different affiliation.

Some unions permit a member who is promoted to a foremanship (in unions which exclude foremen from membership) or retires because of old age or disability to obtain a retirement or, as it is sometimes called, an honorary membership card. An honorary member, although he may take no active part in the union's affairs during the period of retirement, is entitled to reinstatement, usually without payment of any fees, if his situation changes and he wishes to rejoin as an active member. In unions having benefit programs he retains his accrued rights to death benefits provided he has been a member for a specified period of years.

PERMIT CARDS

In seasonal trades, or elsewhere upon particular occasions, there may be a sudden need for an unusually large number of employees. If the trade or industry is under a closed-shop contract and the union cannot

supply all the needed workers from its existing membership, it may either enroll a sufficient number of new members or it may issue what are called "permit" or "privilege" cards to outsiders, which permit their employment for a specified period of time.

The amounts charged for such permit cards are not specified in the International constitutions but are fixed from time to time by the various locals; they may be a percentage of wages earned or a fixed daily or weekly fee, amounting from a nominal sum of \$1 a week to as much as \$2 a day. Some unions, which do not have a permit system per se, effect the same end by having new or probationary members pay their initiation fees on an installment basis—50 cents or \$1 a week, the amount not returnable but considered as an employment fee if the member quits his job or is not accepted into full membership at the end of the probationary period.

The permit system allows additional workers to enter the trade when needed while at the same time it protects the job opportunities of regular members when employment declines. However, it has some distinct disadvantages. Since the permit cards must of necessity be issued by the union business agent or other designated individual officer, it is difficult, if not impossible, for the membership to keep informed about their issuance and to know that proper records are being maintained. In spite of the fact that the business agents are usually bonded and are required to make weekly or monthly accountings, it is possible for a dishonest business agent to collect permit fees and not turn the receipts into the union treasury. Since the system lends itself to abuse, some unions have abolished the issuance of permit cards and require all entrants into the trade to go through the formal procedure of admission into membership. Several states have enacted legislation making the issuance of permit cards illegal.⁷

CLASSES OF MEMBERSHIP

In a majority of unions all active members have the same status, that is, they pay the same dues and have the same voting and other privileges. A number of unions, especially the older organizations and

⁷ For example, Massachusetts prohibits any labor union or person acting in its behalf from requiring, as a condition of securing or continuing employment, payment of any fee other than those chargeable upon members under the constitution and by-laws of the union. (Amendment June 2, 1943, to Chap. 149, General Laws.) The 1943 Bradford Act in Alabama includes similar provisions.

those with benefit programs, have several classes of members variously called Class A and Class B, Regular and Auxiliary, Journeymen versus Helpers, or Beneficial and Nonbeneficial. In all unions covering trades where extended apprenticeship training is necessary, apprentices pay less than the regular dues and have limited voting and other privileges. In addition to the different classes of active members, almost all unions provide honorary status for formerly active members who have retired from their trades or, in a few cases, for persons who have never practiced the trade whom the union wishes to "honor." Honorary members do not pay dues and do not vote.

Distinctions among active members are made for various reasons and the same term may connote entirely different distinctions among the several unions. Thus auxiliary membership, as mentioned above, may refer to colored members who have limited voting privileges; it may also refer to semiskilled or so-called production workers or assistants in contrast to journeymen. (Auxiliary membership must not be confused with "women's auxiliaries," composed of wives of members, which are for social and educational purposes.) A few years ago when the craft unions first began to enroll production workers and others who had not served an apprenticeship, the latter were not always accorded full voting rights. This policy has largely been discontinued and the present distinction between classes of members is closely related to whether or not there is participation in benefit programs, the dues being substantially less for nonparticipants. Where classifications are specially designated as Beneficial and Nonbeneficial, the latter usually refers to persons who were 55 or 60 years of age when they were accepted into the union who have full rights except that of benefit coverage.

A few unions still retain distinctions which are related to the occupations or trades of work pursued by their members. Thus, in the Air Line Pilots Association the pilots and copilots belong to "different" locals. The dues and initiation fees of the copilots are less than half those of the pilots, and representation at the annual convention is based on one delegate for each pilot local council and one delegate from every three copilot local councils. In the Screen Actors' Guild, experienced actors who have received screen credit in at least two motion pictures become Class A members; other members who have had speaking parts are put in Class A Jr., while all other members are in Class B. Only Class A members have voting rights, although Class

A Jr. members may attend meetings; neither Class A Jr. nor Class B locals may call strikes without the permission of the Class A members.

RETENTION OF MEMBERSHIP WHILE UNEMPLOYED

A problem of considerable practical importance to the union as well as individual members is the question of membership status during periods of unemployment such as are experienced by most workers in modern industry. All unions naturally want their members to retain their connection with the union and various means are provided to carry unemployed members during periods when they are unable to pay their regular dues.

In some unions the dues for unemployed members are reduced to a nominal sum, for example, 10 cents a month. In other unions there is no reduction of dues but members are not dropped if in arrears for as long as six months. The latter arrangement is common with unions having old-age, death and other benefit programs where a reduction or suspension of dues would affect a member's benefit privileges.

Many unions grant complete exemption of dues during periods of unemployment due to sickness, strikes or lay-off. The periods of unemployment for which there is exemption of dues are variously defined. Some union rules specify that those working less than forty hours in any month shall be granted a dues-exemption stamp; others grant out-of-work stamps to members who have not had as much as ten days or more employment while some specify five days or more employment in any month. Some constitutions are not so specific, merely providing that those unemployed "the major portion of the month" shall be exempt from dues payment for that month.

MEMBERSHIP DURING MILITARY SERVICE

Most unions provide that members serving in the armed forces during the war are to be retained as members in good standing. Some specifically provide that those in the armed forces shall be relieved of all dues and assessments, while others effect the same purpose by issuing honorable withdrawal cards which entitle the holders to resumption of all membership benefits if deposited within a specified time—usually sixty days—after discharge from military service. In order to make up the loss of income resulting from exoneration of

dues of members in military service, some unions impose a special levy—"war service tax"—upon the remaining members who continue in civilian employment.

In addition to protecting the status of members who leave for military service, a number of unions have gone further by making special concessions to returned veterans who were not members of their unions before induction. Thus many unions, including some with relatively high initiation fees, have agreed to accept into membership without payment of initiation fees any honorably discharged veteran who applies for membership within a specified period after discharge—anywhere from sixty days to two years is variously cited. Also some of the formal apprenticeship requirements have been waived for veterans who have acquired "reasonable skill" in the trade while serving in the armed forces or who give evidence that they are qualified to hold positions under the union's jurisdiction.

In addition to these unilateral arrangements of unions are the provisions in practically all employer-union agreements which protect the seniority and job rights of returned veterans, many of which are more generous than the legal guarantees included in the Selective Training and Service Act.

CHAPTER VIII

FINANCES AND DUES

WHILE the total amount of money which passes in and out of all union treasuries currently amounts to several hundred million dollars a year, the reserve on hand at any given time in most unions averages not more than \$2 or \$3 per member. A substantial portion of the total income of many unions is paid out in death, old-age and disability insurance to individual members.¹ The bulk, of course, is used to advance the general economic interests of the millions of workers who support the unions as well as to promote legislation and other measures which improve the well-being of all workers, nonunion as well as union.² In union bookkeeping the furtherance of these activities is chargeable to general administrative and organizing expenses.

COST OF ADMINISTRATION

On an average, over the years, the greatest items of expense to unions are the salaries and traveling expenses connected with administration and organization work although at certain times other expenditures may be much greater.³ The number of full- and part-time persons on a union's staff will vary, not only in relation to the size of the organization but also in accordance with the activities conducted by the union at any particular time. During an active membership campaign

¹ See Chap. XI.

² For example, wage and hour legislation, safety, health and social security programs, both federal and state. Not only does organized labor employ economists, lawyers and others to take an active part in promoting such legislation, but representatives of the unions are frequently called upon to serve on tripartite advisory committees and in other ways to assist in the effective administration of the laws. To the extent of the costs of these salaries and other expenses, dues paying members of unions are bearing costs of benefits which are shared by all workers affected by the legislation—nonunion as well as union.

³ A prolonged strike, for example, may involve many times the outlay of ordinary administrative expenses.

a union will employ additional organizers; if engaged in litigation or negotiating an agreement involving preparation of a good deal of statistical and legal data, extra lawyers and economists will be employed.⁴ Unions which engage in benefit programs must employ actuaries and accountants to administer these activities.

International Union Offices. Since practice varies as to the relative amount of services performed by the International office and its locals, the comparative costs between International union administration and local union administration is not uniform. In highly centralized unions where the membership campaigns and most of the negotiating with employers, as well as other activities, are conducted through the International office, there may be more persons on the staff of the general office than in a larger union where activities are decentralized. Also, within a union the situation may change from time to time; for example, it is common practice for an International to send persons from the general office for extended periods of time to assist newly organized locals or even older locals when they are having particular difficulties.

In most of the Internationals the only elected officers who are paid on a full-time basis are the President and Secretary-Treasurer, although in some cases one or more Vice-Presidents also serve in a full-time capacity. Usually all officers other than the President and Secretary-Treasurer are paid a per diem and expenses while attending executive board meetings, generally held two or four times a year. The salaries of elected officers are usually incorporated in the unions' constitutions and are determined by convention vote, although some unions also require a majority referendum vote of the membership to change salaries.

In addition to elected officers are the office staff and field organizers. In the average-size union the office staff consists of an editor of the union journal and a dozen or more auditors, clerks and stenographers. The largest unions may have as many as 50 to 75 in the central office, including persons for research, educational, publicity and legal work. The number of organizers employed by any union will vary greatly—small stabilized unions may have as few as a dozen while large expand-

⁴In hearings before arbitration boards, particularly, the parties must assemble and analyze a great deal of data. When a general wage case in the railroad industry, for example, is before an arbitration board, thousands of pages of evidence and statistical tables are presented for consideration. For the hearings, which extend over several weeks, both sides employ numerous statisticians, lawyers and economists, the cost of which runs into thousands of dollars.

ing unions will have several hundred. The President or the General Executive Board of the union usually fixes the salaries of paid office staff and organizers.

The amounts of the salaries paid union staff personnel conform with those paid by private industry and government for similar or comparable work. With respect to the salaries of their elected officers, union practice differs not only according to the ability of the union to pay but also according to its general theory of remuneration for such officials, as well as the attitude of the membership toward the particular person holding the office. Some unions, for example, base the salaries of their officers at about or slightly above the highest level of wages earned by their members working at their trades. Other unions feel that the prestige and effectiveness of their officers are enhanced if their salaries approximate the salaries received by the employer representatives with whom they deal. In many instances the salary paid a particular president or other official is a token of recognition and appreciation of the individual's long service rather than an established remuneration for the office as such.⁵

The Presidents' salaries of approximately 90 per cent of the International unions having under 100,000 members are \$7,500 a year or less; a dozen receive salaries ranging from \$8,000 to \$10,000 inclusive; five receive \$12,000 to \$15,000 inclusive, and two receive salaries of \$20,000 a year. The Presidents' salaries of about half the International unions with over 100,000 membership range from \$5,000 to \$10,000 inclusive; nine receive from \$12,000 to \$15,000 inclusive; while five receive salaries from \$20,000 to \$30,000 per year.⁶ In general the

⁵ This conforms to industry practice where top officers' salaries are paid in accordance with what the company considers the individual is worth, but differs from government practice where salaries are in accordance with fixed classified positions regardless of the individual who happens to hold the position.

⁶ According to their current (1944) constitutions and convention proceedings. The following provide salaries of \$20,000 or more:

AFL-President—\$20,000; Secretary-Treasurer—\$18,000.

CIO—No salaries for officers specified. Both Presidents holding office so far have been drawing salaries as Presidents of their International Unions.

International Longshoremen's Association (AFL)—President—\$20,000; Secretary-Treasurer—\$7,500.

United Mine Workers (IND)—President—\$25,000; Vice-President—\$18,000; Secretary-Treasurer—\$18,000.

American Federation of Musicians (AFL)—President—\$20,000 plus \$3,000 and personal car and driver.

United Steelworkers of America (CIO)—President, who also serves as Presi-

salaries of the full-time Vice-Presidents and Secretary-Treasurers are about 20 per cent less than those of the Presidents.

Locals and Joint Boards. The size and cost of the administrative staffs of the thousands of locals vary widely; numerous small and even medium-size locals maintain no offices, although most of them employ one full-time "business agent" or "walking delegate," to attend to the day-to-day employer-union negotiations. In many locals the elected officers continue to work at their trade, receiving a nominal sum for each meeting over which they preside, although the secretary-treasurer may be paid a few hundred dollars a year for keeping the books. Large locals, on the other hand, may maintain quite elaborate offices, and those which conduct benefit, educational and recreational activities necessarily maintain relatively large staffs of persons qualified to administer these varied activities.

Most full-time local union officers are paid about the same or slightly more than they would earn at their trade, although the salaries paid by some large locals may equal or exceed those of some International officers. Local salaries are established by membership vote, usually upon the recommendation of the executive boards. To ensure careful consideration and give all members an opportunity to vote, many of the constitutions require the reading of proposed salaries at several consecutive meetings before secret ballots are taken. Where locals issue journals, proposed salary recommendations are frequently published in the journals before action is taken.

In most communities where there are many workers belonging to the same International, instead of one large local there are a number of locals each of which has jurisdiction over a single plant or a branch

dent of the CIO—\$20,000; Secretary-Treasurer and two Assistant Presidents—\$12,000.

International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen & Helpers of America (AFL)-President—\$30,000, with business and pleasure traveling expenses for self and wife; Secretary-Treasurer—\$30,000; Assistant President—\$20,000.

International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees & Moving Picture Machine Operators (AFL)-President—\$20,000; Secretary-Treasurer—\$15,000. Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees (AFL)-President—\$25,000; Secretary-Treasurer and 2 Vice Presidents—\$10,000; other Vice-Presidents—\$8,500.

of the trade. These various locals usually belong to a joint board or district council which assumes major responsibility for the administration of the affairs of its members. Such centralized administration and pooling of funds makes possible the retention of full-time and diversified staffs as well as more adequate office space. The administration headquarters of a number of joint boards include, in addition to office space, large assembly rooms for membership meetings, library and recreational facilities for the use of all members.

These boards and councils are supported by per capita taxes forwarded from the affiliated locals. While they necessarily make their own outlays, membership control is maintained through the delegates which each local elects to represent it on the central body.

FINANCIAL RECORDS

Provisions for the auditing of accounts and the reporting of the union's finances to the members are an important part of every union constitution. The constitutions of the Internationals not only specify the method and frequency of auditing and reporting the International's accounts, but also contain regulations concerning their locals' financial records.

Almost all unions require an auditing of funds at least once a year; many specify quarterly or semiannual auditing. Most generally the constitutions specify that the accounts are to be audited by certified public accountants although some specify a "qualified accountant" selected by the Executive Board or an "expert accountant" chosen by the President. In a few unions the auditing is done by the Executive Board or by trustees elected by the convention for that purpose.

The auditor's annual or biennial report is generally incorporated in the Executive Board's report to the convention and is published in the convention proceedings. Frequently the entire report or an abbreviated summary is published in the union's journal or in a special bulletin for distribution among the members. In response to recent public interest⁷

⁷ During 1943 several states enacted laws which, among other measures, require unions to submit detailed financial reports to designated state agencies. These laws were enacted over the protests of organized labor who considered the financial reporting requirement a smoke screen to cover broader antilabor purposes. These suspicions were partially confirmed by the fact that some of the measures incorporated in the laws (but not the financial reporting) were

in union finances, a number of unions have adopted a policy of issuing the reports of their certified public accountants in pamphlet form for general distribution.

Like other organizations, practice varies with respect to the amount of detail covered in the published reports. Some of the financial reports of unions are quite brief and general, while others cite all items of receipts and disbursements, the reports covering as much as fifty or sixty printed pages. In addition to the auditor's reports, many Internationals require their treasurers to prepare monthly or quarterly statements for submission to the Executive Board. These may also be published in the union's journal or copies mailed to all the locals.

In all unions the General Office has the right to investigate or to audit the books of its locals at any time. While this right is inherent in the organic relationship between the parent body and its locals, the majority of the constitutions specifically say that the books of the locals shall be open to the General Office upon request. A number go further in requiring the locals to submit periodic reports to the General Office, either monthly, quarterly or annually. Usually, but not always, it is required that these be certified reports by a public accountant. In some unions the books of the locals are regularly examined by an auditor from the General Office.

To keep their members informed, the common practice in most locals is to have their treasurers' reports read at the regular monthly meetings, and most International union constitutions make it mandatory on the part of their locals to give a full report of their finances to their members at periodic intervals, most generally monthly or quarterly. Audited reports are usually presented at the annual meetings when new officers are elected. To ensure full attendance at these meetings, many unions charge an extra fine for nonattendance. Some of the larger local unions issue mimeographed monthly reports which the shop stewards are responsible for distributing.

nullified by the courts a few months after enactment; other portions have not yet been decided although they are in various stages of appeal.

The U.S. Revenue Act of 1943 requires labor unions as well as other non-profit organizations to file annual reports showing gross income, receipts and disbursements with the Commissioner of Internal Revenue even though such organizations are exempt from income tax. Like similar reports filed under the Internal Revenue Code, the union reports are confidential and are not available to the general public.

DUES AND ASSESSMENTS

Members contribute to the support of their unions through payment of (1) membership dues, usually on a monthly basis; (2) special assessments, usually for some particular purpose; (3) initiation fees when they first join the union as well as reinstatement fees if they have withdrawn or allowed their membership to lapse and seek to rejoin. Upon rare occasions fines may be levied upon members, but these are disciplinary measures and not for revenue purposes.

All moneys are collected by the local unions, either directly from the members or through the employers where the union has check-off arrangements. The locals, in turn, forward certain specified sums to their Internationals and other organizations with which they are affiliated, such as local joint boards, city centrals and state federations. The amounts going to the city and state federated bodies are usually limited to a few cents per capita taxes a month.

The International union's activities are supported chiefly from the per capita taxes or percentage of dues forwarded by the locals, although they also receive a proportion of the initiation and reinstatement fees as well as the charter fees paid by each local when it first becomes affiliated. The International may also levy special assessments for particular purposes or when funds in the treasury drop to a certain amount. In most unions the locals forward the specified per capita tax or proportion of the total dues and assessments to the International Office and retain the balance. In a few unions the locals forward the full amount of the dues and fees to the International Office, which thereupon returns a prescribed portion to the locals for their operating expenses.

Monthly Dues. A considerable number of the International unions allow their locals to determine the amount of dues which shall be charged their members beyond the per capita tax required by the International Office. In many unions, including some of the largest in the mass production industries, the exact amount of dues to be levied by all their locals is stipulated in the International constitutions. Some constitutions, on the other hand, establish a minimum, some a maximum, while others specify both a minimum and a maximum. Where only minima and/or maxima are specified, as well as where it is left

entirely to the locals to determine, the amount of dues charged by the different locals of an International may vary considerably.

The large majority of union members are now paying dues of \$1 a month, although a substantial number are paying \$1.50, and some are paying as much as \$2 and \$2.50 a month dues. Probably two thousand of the sixty thousand local unions have dues of \$3 or more a month, several hundred charging from \$5 to \$7.50. These latter, almost without exception, are locals having only a few highly skilled craftsmen. In several unions the dues are levied in accordance with income, ranging from 1 per cent to 5 per cent of wages earned. Such an arrangement is confined almost entirely to unions composed of skilled workers in seasonal trades or professions where earnings fluctuate.⁸

None of the "low dues" unions maintain old-age or other pension activities, although some carry group life insurance for their members or maintain burial funds from which direct payments of a few hundred dollars are made upon the death of a member. In most of the unions which have dues as high as \$2 or more a month, a substantial portion of the funds collected are used to finance benefit programs such as old age, sickness and disability pensions. A number of these unions have two classes of membership, beneficial and nonbeneficial; while the former may pay dues of \$2 or more, the dues of the nonbeneficial are \$1 or \$1.50 a month. The latter are usually members engaged in the less skilled occupations as well as persons who were middle-aged or over before they were taken in as members. In some cases, individual members are allowed to choose which class of membership they desire; elsewhere it is automatically determined by type of job, age or other factor.

⁸ In most of the full-fashioned branches of the hosiery industry, the American Federation of Hosiery Workers has an arrangement whereby employers deduct 2 per cent from the wages of members which they send directly to the General Office of the union. According to the union's 1942 convention report, this percentage method has definite advantages over the usual fixed dues system: not only is the average income to the union likely to be greater, but the support of the union is in accordance with each member's ability to pay from week to week.

The dues and initiation fees of members of a New York Radio Actors and Artistes local are based upon approximate gross income received from radio performances, the dues ranging from \$12 a year for incomes up to \$2,000, to \$100 annual dues for incomes of over \$50,000.

Monthly dues of some engineers and architects range from \$1 for those earning less than \$100 to \$3 for those earning over \$250 a month. Many of the Bookbinding locals establish dues in relation to hourly wage rates; a number of locals of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers charge a fixed amount plus a per cent of earnings.

Per Capita Taxes and Charter Fees to International. Every International union constitution stipulates the amount of the per capita tax to be paid to the International from the dues collected by each of its locals. From these taxes the International in turn pays a small per capita tax to any organization with which it is affiliated—the American Federation of Labor and its Departments, or the Congress of Industrial Organizations, whichever the case may be.⁹ Most generally the per capita taxes paid to the International are a specified number of cents per member each month. In a few unions, instead of a per capita tax, a proportion of the total dues collected, such as 40 per cent or 50 per cent, is forwarded to the International.

The amount of the per capita taxes varies greatly among the different unions, depending largely upon the amount of services rendered and the activities engaged in by the General Office. If, for example, most of the organizing activity, employer negotiating, and financing of benefit programs is done through the International, the per capita taxes are likely to be higher than where some or all of these matters are conducted by the locals. As indicated in the following table, a majority of the International constitutions stipulate per capita taxes from 30 cents to 50 cents a month, although a number have 60 cent and 75 cent monthly taxes. Some of the "benefit" unions, composed of skilled craftsmen, have per capita taxes of \$1 to \$2 per month.

Charter fees, of course, are paid only once by any local and are usually nominal sums. Since they are paid from the locals' treasuries they do not involve any direct outlay on the part of individual members. A large majority of International unions have charter fees of \$10 to \$25, although some run higher. In a few unions the charter fees are based on the number of members the local has at the time it is given its charter; for example, \$1 per member.

⁹ Neither the American Federation of Labor nor the Congress of Industrial Organizations has any way to compel its affiliated unions to pay the per capita taxes on their full membership. The number of delegates and the voting power at their conventions, however, are based upon "paid-up membership" and this is usually a sufficient inducement for complete payment of the taxes. However, a union may prefer to withhold some of its taxes even though its votes are curtailed. Likewise, a union may choose to boost its payments in order to strengthen its voting power at conventions.

In contrast, the per capita taxes paid by the locals to their Internationals usually represent an accurate accounting, since the Internationals have the right to examine the books of their locals at any time.

Assessments. Upon occasion the moneys received from regular dues may be insufficient to meet all the union's current or anticipated expenses. A union may decide to engage in an intensive organizing drive; its funds may have been depleted because of a prolonged strike or unusually heavy outlays for unemployment and disability benefits; it may decide to purchase or build a central office building; or it may vote to make a contribution to a benevolent cause. For such contingencies a single assessment may be levied upon each member or a specified assessment may be levied over a given number of months.

Assessments may be levied by the International office, in which case all members of the union pay alike; or they may be levied by individual locals, in which case only the members of the particular locals are affected. The constitutions of the International unions specify the conditions under which the International may levy assessments and many of them also refer to local assessments. Most commonly, assessments may be levied by the International only after a two-thirds favorable referendum vote of the entire membership. A few constitutions impose a limitation even with referendum voting, for example, "not to exceed \$2 a year," "not more than 5 cents in any one month," etc.

A considerable number of unions modify the referendum requirement by giving the General President or the General Executive Board the power to levy assessments when the general treasury or some particular fund falls below a specified amount. Usually the sum which may be levied through this procedure is limited: for example, "The General Executive Board may levy assessments up to 5 cents a week to maintain the benefit fund"; "If funds fall below \$10 a member, the Executive Board may levy assessments"; "When the treasury reaches \$—— the General Secretary shall levy an assessment of 10 cents per capita until the treasury reaches \$——"; "The General Executive Board may levy assessments on all beneficiary members sufficient to cover increased costs of benefits during any fiscal year."

A few constitutions prohibit special assessments under any circumstances. On the other hand, in a number of unions the General Executive Board is given wide latitude and has the authority to levy special assessments "whenever necessary" or "whenever necessary to meet an emergency." In some of these unions no limitations are established in the constitutions; usually, however, a maximum is specified which may be as high as \$1 per week for an unspecified number of weeks or as little as from 1 to 5 cents a week for a limited number of weeks.

A majority of the Internationals impose no regulations on their locals with respect to the levying of assessments, leaving the matter entirely to the discretion of the members and officers of each local. The constitutions of a considerable number of the Internationals, however, specify the conditions under which their locals may levy assessments, and in some instances the maximum amounts. Generally, a referendum vote is required with either a two-thirds or majority favorable vote. Some permit a two-thirds or majority vote at a special meeting; some at a regular meeting if announcement of the proposal has previously been made. Some of the Internationals allow their locals to levy assessments for particular purposes only, for example, out-of-work benefits or sickness insurance; others specifically disallow assessments for such purposes as "unauthorized strikes."

INITIATION FEES

A large majority of the present union members paid a fee of \$2 to \$5 when they were initiated into their unions. Since it is the custom in many unions to apply the first month's dues toward the payment of the initiation fee, especially during an organizing campaign when large numbers are taken in, many present members of unions actually paid only \$1 or \$2 initiation fees. A considerable number of union members, however, especially those in the skilled trades belonging to craft unions, have paid higher initiation fees—most commonly \$10 to \$25. Some have paid as much as \$50; in a few locals, initiation fees run as high as \$200 to \$300, with instances of \$500 or more.

Purposes of Initiation Fees. Initiation fees, unlike dues, are not levied primarily for the purpose of revenue, and the income from such fees is irregular. During periods of stabilized membership little is received in initiation fees, no matter how high the individual fee may be; during periods of expanding membership, as under war production conditions, the initiation fees will amount to considerable sums.

Unions which charge relatively high fees regard their initiation fees in the nature of a fine as well as a means of membership control. They maintain that the old members who have contributed many years to their support have enabled the unions to obtain higher wages and better working conditions than would have existed if there had been no unions. Since new persons entering the trade profit by these

hard-won gains, the older members consider the initiation fees to be a reimbursement for past services of the union—a method by which new members share the cost of improved working conditions which they did not assist in procuring. This is evidenced in the practice of some unions of differentiating between the amount of fees charged those joining before a contract with the employer is signed and those joining after union conditions are established.

Historically, high initiation fees have been a means of controlling the intake into the union as well as into the trade. (To the extent that the union has closed-shop agreements with the employers, control of entrance into the trade or industry, of course, is automatic with the control of admission into the union.) Unions which charge high initiation fees justify them on the grounds that they tend to stabilize employment for their members by acting as a deterrent to large influxes of new workers into the trade during temporary booms, for once new members are accepted they not only share in the job opportunities during the temporary boom, but also claim rights to jobs when jobs become scarce. These unions contend that, if the need for extra workers is confined to one locality, their unemployed members elsewhere should be transferred, and if it is a general but short-time boom the available jobs should be stretched over a longer period for those already in the trade rather than take in new members. Unions which charge extremely high initiation fees claim that such fees are seldom, if ever, actually paid by anyone, but that they are a device for keeping out newcomers.

Control of intake into the union can, of course, be accomplished by other means than high initiation fees; a union, for example, can establish rules which arbitrarily restrict the number of persons to be admitted. This is done indirectly in some of the skilled trades where union constitutions specify the relative number of apprentices allowed to journeymen employed, and these unions frequently make a distinction between those applicants for membership who have served their apprenticeship under the union's auspices and those who entered the trade from the "outside." For example, they may charge only \$3 or \$5 for apprentice candidates and \$100 or more for those who learned their trade elsewhere.

Some unions which charge relatively high initiation fees provide for temporary high employment needs by issuing permit cards at a nominal sum to nonunion workers, which allow them to work until

the temporary job is completed or until a sufficient number of union members are available. A number of unions reduced their initiation fees during the war emergency although in general there have been few recent changes in the amounts of fees charged. To prevent initiation fees from hindering the necessary intake of new workers into war production, unions having fees of more than a few dollars usually allow new members to pay for them in weekly installments.

International Versus Local Union Regulation. As with monthly dues, the constitutions of the Internationals may specify the exact amount of initiation fees which all their locals shall charge; they may specify a minimum only or a maximum only; they may provide a range within a minimum and maximum; or they may leave the amount entirely to their locals to decide. In all cases, of course, the International determines what proportion of the initiation fees collected shall go to the General Treasury.

About one-fourth of the Internationals' constitutions specify the exact amount of initiation fees which their locals shall charge, thus ensuring uniformity throughout their membership. About an equal number specify maximum limits; most of these also establish minima, thus providing ranges within which all their locals' fees must fall. Almost a third of the constitutions specify minimum amounts only, permitting their locals to establish fees at or above the sums specified in the constitution. By specific provision or through absence of any reference to the fixing of initiation fees in their constitutions, the locals of approximately one-fifth of the Internationals are permitted to establish whatever initiation fees their members vote to have.

Initiation fees, like dues, are divided between the local which collects them and the International to which it belongs. So far as intra-union finances are concerned, the proportion that goes to the International and the amount remaining for local use is an important consideration, especially where the initiation fees are more than a few dollars. About one-half of the Internationals' constitutions provide that a specified number of dollars from each initiation fee collected shall be forwarded to the General Treasury. In somewhat less than half, the proportion of fees goings to the International is expressed in a percentage. This proportion is most frequently 50 per cent, although some provide 40 per cent and some as little as 10 per cent, while a few specify as much

as 75 per cent. In a few of the small, highly centralized unions all the initiation fees are forwarded to the General Treasury.

In general, where the initiation fees are divided approximately equally between the local and the International, the fees charged are quite nominal. Where relatively high initiation fees prevail, the major portion usually remains with the locals. In most of the craft unions the International treasury receives a specified number of dollars from each initiation fee collected by their locals regardless of the amount of the individual fees charged. Seldom is the sum forwarded to the International more than \$5 or \$10, although the local initiation fees may be \$25, \$50, \$100, or more.

INITIATION FEES, DUES AND PER CAPITA TAX PROVISIONS IN INTERNATIONAL UNION CONSTITUTIONS

The following table shows the amount of initiation fees, dues and per capita taxes specified in each International constitution,¹⁰ as well as the type of benefit program, if any, which is financed by the International from such regular fees and taxes. Benefit activities financed by special assessments, that is, in addition to the per capita tax and fees shown, are not indicated. Also excluded are voluntary insurance plans available to members who pay premiums along with their regular dues.

The initiation fees and dues indicated in the table are those charged regularly to persons having full membership status. Sometimes there are special arrangements for particular members under particular circumstances. For example, during an organization drive into a new area the initiation fees may be reduced for a limited length of time to attract new members; also there may be reduced dues for apprentices, partially disabled members, or other special groups.

This table is limited to provisions in International constitutions. As already indicated, such constitutional provisions may or may not specify the exact amount of dues and fees charged. If minima only are specified, most of the locals may charge much more; on the other hand, the minimum specified in an International's constitution may represent the full amount actually charged by all its locals. Likewise the specified maxima may represent the amounts actually charged or they may be purely theoretical because the amounts actually charged may be less, at least by some locals. Where sufficient information was had

¹⁰ Constitutions in effect during 1944. Asterisks indicate that no amounts are specified in the constitutions.

about local dues and fees, there are footnote references to indicate prevailing practices. The per capita taxes paid by the locals to their Internationals come out of the dues collected and do not, of course, represent an additional cost to individual members. In a few highly centralized unions all the dues go to the International offices which pay all their locals' operating expenses directly.

TABLE III. INITIATION FEES AND DUES SPECIFIED IN UNION CONSTITUTIONS

Union and Affiliation	Initiation Fees	Monthly Dues	Monthly Per Capita Tax	Benefits Financed by Regular Dues
Actors & Artists (AFL): Actors Equity Ass'n.....	\$100	\$1.50; \$1 if in tabloid company, 5% earnings (min. \$10 week) for alien members	\$1 per year All dues	..........
Chorus Equity Ass'n.....	\$25	\$1	All dues	.....
Italian Actors.....	\$50	\$1	All dues	.....
Musical Artists.....	\$10 to \$25 depending on income	\$15 to \$100 per year depending on income	All dues	.....
Radio Artists.....	*	*	Not stated	.....
Screen Actors Guild.....	*	*	Not stated	.....
Variety Artists.....	*	*	Not stated	.....
Air Line Mechanics (IND).....	\$5 or \$10 depending on earnings and contract coverage	\$1 or \$2.25 depending on earnings and contract coverage	\$1 or \$2 depending on earnings and contract coverage	.....
Air Line Pilots (AFL).....	\$100—First pilots \$50—Reserve pilots \$25—Copilots	\$100 per year—First pilots \$60 per year—Reserve pilots \$28 per year—Copilots	All dues	.....
Aluminum Workers (AFL).....	*	*	\$.05	.....

Architects and Draftsmen (AFL) ..	\$5 min.	\$1.25 min.	\$.75 Federal employees \$.60 for others	.....
Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians (CIO)	\$2 min., \$10 max.	\$1 min., \$2.50 max.	\$.50	.....
Asbestos Workers (AFL)	\$25 min., \$100 max.	*	\$1	.....
Associated Unions (IND)	*	*	\$.25 from each of 1st 500 members \$.21 from each of 2nd 500 members \$.18 from each additional member	.....
Automobile Workers (CIO)	\$2 min., \$15 max.	\$1	\$.40	.....
Automobile Workers (AFL)	\$2 min., \$25 max.	\$1	\$.37½	.....
Bakery and Confectionery Workers (AFL)	\$3 min. ¹	\$2.10 min.—Beneficiary \$1.25 min.—Nonbeneficiary	\$1.30—Beneficiary \$.45—Nonbeneficiary	Death; Sickness
Barbers and Beauty Culturists (CIO)	\$3 min.	\$1.50 min.	\$.40	.....
Barbers, Hairdressers (AFL)	\$10 min.	\$1.50 min.—Beneficiary \$1.25 min.—Nonbeneficiary	\$.85—Beneficiary \$.50—Nonbeneficiary	Death; Sickness
Billposters (AFL)	\$50 min.—Billposters \$15 min.—Distributors	\$2 min.—Billposters * Distributors	\$.35 Billposters \$.20 Distributors	........

TABLE III. INITIATION FEES AND DUES SPECIFIED IN UNION CONSTITUTIONS—Continued

Union and Affiliation	Initiation Fees	Monthly Dues	Monthly Per Capita Tax	Benefits Financed by Regular Dues
Blacksmiths (AFL)	\$5 min.	\$1.25 min.	\$1 Mechanics \$.85 Helpers	Death
Boilermakers (AFL)	\$10 min.—mechanics ² \$5 min.—Helpers	\$1.75 min.—Mechanics \$1.25 min.—Helpers	\$1.25 Mechanics \$.85 Helpers	Death; Disability
Bookbinders (AFL)	\$10 min.—Men ³ \$5 min.—Women	*	\$1.35 Men .75 Women .85 Junior men .45 Junior women .60 Class B	Death
Boot and Shoe Workers (AFL)	\$2	\$.35 per week	% of dues and fees	Death
Brewery Workers (IND)	\$28 max.	\$1.50 min.	\$.50	.....
Brick and Clay Workers (AFL)	\$1.50 min.	\$1.50 min.	\$1.05	.....
Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers (AFL)	\$25 min., \$100 max. ⁴ (Executive Board may allow more)	*	Not stated	Death; Old age, Disability
Bridge and Structural Iron (AFL)	\$100 except for ⁴ shopmen (Executive Board determines for shopmen)	* ⁴	\$2 min. \$.50 min. for shopmen	Death

FINANCES AND DUES

131

Broom and Whisk Makers (AFL)...	\$5 min. \$1 for blind members	\$.50 per week min.	\$.65 Journeymen \$.50 Auxiliary workers and blind	.....
Building Service Employees (AFL)	*	*	\$.35	Death
Cannery, Agricultural and Packing Workers (CIO).....	\$2 min.—Industrial workers \$1 min.—Agricultural workers	\$1 min.	\$.50	.....
Carpenters and Joiners (AFL).....	\$10 min.*	\$1 min.	\$.75 (\$.25 for semi-beneficiary members)	Death; Home for aged or pension; Total disability
Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers (AFL).....	\$3 min., \$25 max.	\$1.50 min.	\$.75	.....
Chemical Workers (AFL).....	\$2 min., \$15 max.	\$1.50 min. \$3.00 max.	\$.75	.....
Cigar Makers (AFL).....	\$3	\$1	\$.50	.....
Cleaning and Dye House Workers (AFL).....	*	*	\$.50	.....
Clothing Workers, Amalgamated (CIO).....	\$10 max.	*	\$.70	.....
Communications Ass'n (CIO).....	\$1-\$20 depending on occupation and earnings	\$1.00 to \$4 depending upon occupation and earnings	\$.75 for Maritime Dept. 45% of dues for others	.....

TABLE III. INITIATION FEES AND DUES SPECIFIED IN UNION CONSTITUTIONS—Continued

Union and Affiliation	Initiation Fees	Monthly Dues	Monthly Per Capita Tax	Benefits Financed by Regular Dues
Coopers (AFL).....	\$5 min., \$50 max. \$2 min. for laborers	\$1 min.	\$.85	Death
Diamond Workers (AFL).....	Amount not stated	\$1.50 per week	All dues	Death and Optical
Die Sinkers Conference (IND).....	\$5 min.	\$2 or \$2.50 depending on earnings	\$1.50	.....
Distillery Workers (AFL).....	\$2 min.	\$1.50	\$.50	.....
Dyers and Finishers (CIO).....	\$1	\$1.60 min. for men \$1.35 min. for women	\$.70	.....
Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO).....	\$2 min.	\$1 min.	\$.30	.....
Electrical Workers (AFL).....	* for journeymen ¹ \$1.50 min. for Class B members	\$3 min. for journeymen * Class B	\$2 (\$1.10 for nonbeneficiary members) \$.50 for Class B	Death; Old age pensions
Elevator Constructors (AFL).....	\$200	*	\$1.95	.....
Engineers, Operating (AFL).....	\$5 min. ²	\$2 min.	\$1	Death
Engravers and Sketchmakers (IND)	\$35	\$1.50 per week	All dues	Death

Farm Equipment Workers (CIO)...	\$2 min., \$15 max.	\$1.50 max.	\$.75	.....
Farmers Union, Southern Tenant (IND).....	\$.50	\$3 per year per family	50 per cent of dues	.....
Federal Employees (IND).....	\$1 min., \$10 max.	\$5 per year min.	\$.35	.....
Federal Workers (CIO).....	\$1 max.	\$.75 min., \$1.50 max.	\$.50	.....
Fire Fighters (AFL).....	\$1 min.	\$.40 min.	\$.20	.....
Firemen and Oilers (AFL).....	\$3.50 min. plus \$1 for Death Benefit	\$1.50 min.	\$.70 (\$1 for R.R. Employees)	Death
Fishermen and Allied Workers (CIO).....	\$10 max.	*	\$2 per year min. \$12 per year max.	.....
Foreman's Ass'n (IND).....	\$1 min., \$15 max.	\$1	\$.40	.....
Fur and Leather Workers (CIO)...	*	*	\$.12½ per week	Death
Furniture Workers (CIO).....	\$2 min.	\$1 min.	\$.40	.....
Garment Workers, United (AFL)...	\$2 min., \$5 max.	\$1.25 min. for men \$1.00 min. for women	\$.50	Death
Garment Workers, Ladies (AFL)...	*	*	\$.15 per week \$1 per year death fund	Death
Gas, Coke and Chemical Workers (CIO).....	\$5 max.	\$1 min.	\$.60	.....

TABLE III. INITIATION FEES AND DUES SPECIFIED IN UNION CONSTITUTIONS—Continued

Union and Affiliation	Initiation Fees	Monthly Dues	Monthly Per Capita Tax	Benefits Financed by Regular Dues
Coopers (AFL).....	\$5 min., \$50 max. \$2 min. for laborers	\$1 min.	\$.85	Death
Diamond Workers (AFL).....	Amount not stated	\$1.50 per week	All dues	Death and Optical
Die Sinkers Conference (IND).....	\$5 min.	\$2 or \$2.50 depending on earnings	\$1.50	.....
Distillery Workers (AFL).....	\$2 min.	\$1.50	\$.50	.....
Dyers and Finishers (CIO).....	\$1	\$1.60 min. for men \$1.35 min. for women	\$.70	.....
Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO).....	\$2 min.	\$1 min.	\$.30	.....
Electrical Workers (AFL).....	* for journeymen ¹ \$1.50 min. for Class B members	\$3 min. for journeymen * Class B	\$2 (\$1.10 for nonbeneficiary members) \$.50 for Class B	Death; Old age pensions
Elevator Constructors (AFL).....	\$200	*	\$1.95	.....
Engineers, Operating (AFL).....	\$5 min. ²	\$2 min.	\$1	Death
Engravers and Sketchmakers (IND).....	\$35	\$1.50 per week	All dues	Death

Farm Equipment Workers (CIO)...	\$2 min., \$15 max.	\$1.50 max.	\$.75	.....
Farmers Union, Southern Tenant (IND).....	\$.50	\$3 per year per family	50 per cent of dues	.....
Federal Employees (IND).....	\$1 min., \$10 max.	\$5 per year min.	\$.35	.....
Federal Workers (CIO).....	\$1 max.	\$.75 min., \$1.50 max.	\$.50	.....
Fire Fighters (AFL).....	\$1 min.	\$.40 min.	\$.20	.....
Firemen and Oilers (AFL).....	\$3.50 min. plus \$1 for Death Benefit	\$1.50 min.	\$.70 (\$1 for R.R. Employees)	Death
Fishermen and Allied Workers (CIO).....	\$10 max.	*	\$2 per year min. \$12 per year max.	.....
Foreman's Ass'n (IND).....	\$1 min., \$15 max.	\$1	\$.40	.....
Fur and Leather Workers (CIO)...	*	*	\$.12½ per week	Death
Furniture Workers (CIO).....	\$2 min.	\$1 min.	\$.40	.....
Garment Workers, United (AFL)...	\$2 min., \$5 max.	\$1.25 min. for men \$1.00 min. for women	\$.50	Death
Garment Workers, Ladies (AFL)...	*	*	\$.15 per week \$1 per year death fund	Death
Gas, Coke and Chemical Workers (CIO).....	\$5 max.	\$1 min.	\$.60	.....

TABLE III. INITIATION FEES AND DUES SPECIFIED IN UNION CONSTITUTIONS—Continued

Union and Affiliation	Initiation Fees	Monthly Dues	Monthly Per Capita Tax	Benefits Financed by Regular Dues
Glass Bottle Blowers (AFL).....	\$5 min., \$25 max. \$2 min., \$10 max. in miscellaneous dept.	*	Not stated	.....
Glass, Ceramic and Silica Sand Workers (CIO).....	\$2 min.	1 per cent of earnings	40 per cent of dues	.....
Glass Cutters League (AFL).....	\$25 upon beginning apprenticeship; \$200 if trade learned in foreign country	2 per cent of wages \$2 if earning less than union scale	All dues	Death covering members and their wives
Glass Workers, Flint (AFL).....	\$3 if apprenticeship has been served under union; \$125 otherwise	*	2 per cent of earnings until treasury has \$350,000; 1 per cent until decreases to \$250,000	.....
Glove Workers (AFL).....	*	*	\$.40	Death
Government Employees (AFL).....	\$1 min.	\$.50 min.	\$.30	.....
Grain Processors (AFL).....	\$2 min.	\$1.25 min.	\$.50	.....
Granite Cutters (AFL).....	\$25	\$2 or \$3 depending on balance in general fund	95 per cent of dues	Death; Loss of sight

Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers (AFL).....	Not to exceed prevailing minimum weekly wage	\$.50 a week for men \$.40 a week for women	\$.20 a week for men \$.15 a week for women	.....
Hod Carriers (AFL).....	\$5 min., \$50 max. ⁶	\$1 min.	\$.35	Death
Horse Shoers (AFL).....	\$50 min.	\$2 min.	\$1	.....
Hosiery Workers (CIO).....	*	\$.25 to \$.50 (per wk) depending on occupation except where dues are based on wages	Determined by Convention	.....
Hotel and Restaurant Employees (AFL).....	\$2 min., \$25 max.	\$1.50 min. for men \$1.25 min. for women	\$.30	Death
Industrial Trades Union (IND)...	Not stated	Not stated	90 per cent of collections by locals	Death
Inlandboatmen (CIO).....	\$10 min.	\$1.50 min.	\$.60	Death
Jewelry Workers (AFL).....	\$1.50 min., \$76 max.	*	\$.55	.....
Lace Operatives (IND).....	*	*	\$.10 plus \$.20 per week for Death fund	Death
Lathers (AFL).....	\$3 min., \$100 max. ⁴	*	\$1	Death
Laundry Workers (AFL).....	\$2.50 min.	\$1 min.	\$.25	.....
Leather Workers (AFL).....	\$2 min., \$25 max.	\$1**	\$.55	.....

TABLE III. INITIATION FEES AND DUES SPECIFIED IN UNION CONSTITUTIONS—Continued

Union and Affiliation	Initiation Fees	Monthly Dues	Monthly Per Capita Tax	Benefits Financed by Regular Dues
Letter Carriers (AFL).....	*	*	\$2.80 per year \$2 without journal	.....
Letter Carriers (Rural) (AFL).....	*	*	\$4 per year	.....
Letter Carriers (Rural) (IND).....	*	*	\$3 per year	.....
Licensed Officers (IND).....	Determined by General Executive Council	Determined by General Executive Council	Not stated	.....
Lithographers (AFL).....	\$10 plus \$6 to \$10 for Mortuary Fund	\$2.75 min.	\$.70	Death
Locomotive Engineers (IND).....	\$5	*	\$2	Disability; Home for aged
Locomotive Firemen and Engi- men (IND).....	\$5	*	\$.60	.....
Longshoremen (AFL).....	\$10 min.	\$1.25 min.	\$.30	.....
Longshoremen and Warehousemen (CIO).....	\$10 max.	*	\$.65	.....
Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers (AFL).....	\$1 min.	\$.25 per week min.	\$.15 per week	.....

Machine Printers (IND)	\$25	\$3 per week	All dues	Death; Disability; Unemployment; Retirement
Machinists (AFL)	\$5 min. for machinists; \$3 min. for helpers and production workers	\$1.75 min. for machinists. Others pay not less than $\frac{2}{3}$ machinists' rate	\$1 (\$.65 for helpers and production workers)	Death
Maintenance of Way Employees (AFL)	\$3	\$5.75 per quarter for beneficiary members; \$4.25 per quarter for non-beneficiary	\$4 per quarter for beneficiary members; \$2.50 for non-beneficiary	Death
Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers (AFL)	"	*	\$.50	Death
Marine Cooks and Stewards (CIO)	\$25	\$2	Not stated	Death; Shipwreck
Marine Engineers (CIO)	\$50 min.	\$2 min.	Not stated	.....
Marine Firemen (IND)	\$50 min.	\$1.50	All dues	Death; Hospital
Marine and Shipbuilding (CIO) ..	\$2 min., \$10 max.	\$1.25	\$.55	.....
Maritime Union (CIO)	\$10	\$2.50	All dues	Death; Shipwreck; Prison; Hospital

TABLE III. INITIATION FEES AND DUES SPECIFIED IN UNION CONSTITUTIONS—Continued

Union and Affiliation	Initiation Fees	Monthly Dues	Monthly Per Capita Tax	Benefits Financed by Regular Dues
Masters, Mates and Pilots (AFL)...	\$25 min.	\$24 per year, min.	\$5 per year	.....
Master Mechanics and Foremen (AFL).....	*	*	\$1	.....
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen (AFL).....	\$5 min.	\$1.50 min.	\$1	Death
Mechanics Educational Society (IND).....	*	\$1 min.	35 per cent of local dues	.....
Messengers, Special Delivery (AFL)	*	*	\$.50	.....
Metal & Enamelware Workers (AFL)	*	*	\$.10	.....
Metal Engravers (IND).....	Max. \$25	\$1.50 min.	\$1	.....
Metal Polishers (AFL).....	\$5 min. journeymen; \$2.50 helpers and unskilled workers	\$2 min. journeymen; \$1 for others	\$1.10 journeymen; \$.70 others	.....
Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers (CIO).....	\$2 min., \$10 max.	\$1 min., \$5 max.	\$.65	.....
Mine Workers, Progressive (AFL) .	\$5 to \$50 (minor sons free)	*	\$.25	Death

Mine Workers, United (IND)..... District 50	\$10 (Minor sons free) \$3 max.	\$1.50 min., \$2 max.	\$.90 min. \$1.00	.....
Molders and Foundry Workers (AFL).....	\$5	\$.75 per week for jour- neymen, \$.35 per week for others	\$.61 weekly for jour- neymen, \$.27 week- ly for others	Death; Sickness
Musicians (AFL).....	\$5 min., \$50 max.	Not stated	\$.62½ semi-annually	.....
Newspaper Guild (CIO).....	\$1 min., \$10 max.	\$.75 min.	\$.75	.....
Office Employees (AFL).....	*	*	\$.10	.....
Office and Professional Workers CIO	\$5 max.	\$.75 to \$2 depending on earnings	\$.55	.....
Oil Workers (CIO).....	\$2 min., \$25 max.	\$2 min., \$2.15 max.	\$.90	.....
Packaging Workers (CIO).....	\$2	*	Not stated	.....
Painters, Decorators and Paper- hangers (AFL).....	\$5 min. ^s	\$2 min.—Beneficiary \$.25 min.—Nonbenefi- ciary	\$.80—Beneficiary; none for nonbenefi- ciary	Death; Wife's death; Perma- nent disability
Paper Makers (AFL).....	\$3 for women \$5 min., \$50 max. for men	*	\$.50—women \$1.00—men	Death
Paper, Novelty and Toy Workers (CIO).....	\$10 max.	*	\$.50	.....

TABLE III. INITIATION FEES AND DUES SPECIFIED IN UNION CONSTITUTIONS--Continued

Union and Affiliation	Initiation Fees	Monthly Dues	Monthly Per Capita Tax	Benefits Financed by Regular Dues
Pattern Makers (AFL).....	\$5 min.	\$2.35 min.	\$1.50	Death; Disability
Paving Cutters (IND).....	\$10	*	\$1	.....
Photo-Engravers (AFL).....	* ⁶	*	\$2.50	Death
Plasterers and Cement Finishers (AFL).....	10 times daily wage rate, max. ⁸	*	\$1	Death
Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers (AFL).....	*	*	\$.50 per quarter	.....
Plumbers and Steamfitters (AFL) ..	\$20 min. ⁸	\$2 min.	\$1	Death
Post Office Clerks (AFL).....	*	*	\$.40	.....
Post Office Clerks (IND).....	*	*	\$3.60 per year	.....
Post Office and Railway Mail Laborers (AFL).....	*	*	\$.20	.....
Postal Employees (IND).....	\$.65	*(with General Executive Board approval)	\$.35	.....
Postal Supervisors (IND).....	*	*	\$4 per year	.....

Postmasters, District (IND).....	Not stated	\$2.50 per year min. \$5 per year max.	\$2 per year	.....
Potters, Operative (AFL).....	\$3 in skilled branch \$1.50 in unskilled br.	*	\$.25 men \$.20 women plus 1 1/4% of earnings	Death; Tuberculosis
Printing Pressmen (AFL).....	*	*	\$2.35—pressmen \$2.20—assistants	Death; Home for disabled and pension
Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers (AFL).....	\$2 min., \$15 max.	*	\$.40—women \$.60—men	.....
Railroad Signalmen (IND).....	\$5	\$12 per year min.	\$2 per quarter	.....
Railroad Telegraphers (AFL).....	\$5 min.	\$12 per year min.	\$7.75 per year	.....
Railroad Trainmen (IND).....	\$1 min.	*	\$.50	.....
Railroad Yardmasters (IND).....	\$10	\$25 per year	\$20 per year	Death; Total disability
Railway Carmen (AFL).....	\$10 min. for mechanics \$5 min. for helpers	\$1.75 min. for mechanics \$1.25 min. for helpers	\$.90 mechanics \$.75 helpers \$.65 coach cleaners	Death; Total disability
Railway Clerks (AFL).....	\$5 min.	\$1.25 min.	\$.70	Death
Railway Conductors (IND).....	\$5 max.	*	\$1.00	Home for aged

TABLE III. INITIATION FEES AND DUES SPECIFIED IN UNION CONSTITUTIONS—Continued

Union and Affiliation	Initiation Fees	Monthly Dues	Monthly Per Capita Tax	Benefits Financed by Regular Dues
Railway Mail (AFL).....	\$4.75 Beneficiary \$4.25 Nonbeneficiary (in lieu of per capita)	\$18 per year Beneficiary regular rate; \$15 per year Beneficiary preferred rate; \$6.50 per year Nonbeneficiary	\$15.75 per year Beneficiary regular rate; \$12.75 per year Beneficiary preferred rate; \$4.25 per year Nonbeneficiary	Accidental death or injury
Railway Patrolmen's (AFL).....	*	*	\$.25	.....
Railway Supervisors (IND).....	\$3 min.	\$1 min.	Range from 75% of \$1 dues down to 25% of \$3 dues	.....
Retail Clerks (AFL).....	\$3 min.	*	\$.35 Beneficial \$.25 Nonbeneficial	Death
Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees (CIO).....	\$10 max.	*	\$.40	Death
Roofers (AFL).....	\$25 min. ⁶	\$2.50 min.	\$1	Death
Rubber Workers (CIO).....	\$2	\$1	\$.45	.....
Seafarers (AFL).....	*	*	\$.10	.....
Sheet Metal Workers (AFL).....	\$25 min; wages for 100 hours' work is maximum ⁸	\$2.50 min.	\$1	Death

	\$2 min.	\$.25 per week min.	\$.15 per week	Death
Shoe Workers (CIO).....	\$1	\$.25 per week	\$.20 per week	.....
Shoe and Allied Craftsmen (IND)	\$5 min.	\$1 min.	\$.60	.....
Sidographers (AFL).....	\$15	\$2	\$1.35	.....
Sleeping Car Porters (AFL).....	*	\$.25 per week min.	\$.45 per quarter	Death; Disability
Spinners (AFL).....				.....
Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators (AFL)	Maximum is 4 times the highest local weekly wage scale	\$1.85	\$1	.....
State, County and Municipal Employees (AFL).....	\$2 min., \$10 max.	\$1 min.	\$.30 each for first 10,000 members \$.15 each those in excess of 10,000	.....
State, County and Municipal Workers (CIO).....	\$1 min., \$5 max.	\$1 min., \$2 max.	\$.50	.....
Steel Workers (CIO).....	\$3	\$1 min., \$1.50 max.	\$.75	.....
Stereotypers and Electrotypers (AFL).....	**	*	\$1.50	Death
Stone and Allied Products Workers (CIO).....	\$5 min.	\$1.25	\$.75	Death

TABLE III. INITIATION FEES AND DUES SPECIFIED IN UNION CONSTITUTIONS—Continued

Union and Affiliation	Initiation Fees	Monthly Dues	Monthly Per Capita Tax	Benefits Financed by Regular Dues
Stonecutters (AFL).....	\$75	*	\$1	Death
Stove Mounters (AFL).....	\$3 min., \$25 max.	\$.25, \$.40, or \$.60 per week depending on death benefit coverage	\$.12½, \$.25 or \$.45 per week depending on dues paid	Death
Street and Electric Railway Employees (AFL).....	\$2 min.	\$1.50 min.	\$1.10	Death and total disability
Switchmen's Union (AFL).....	\$2 min.	*	\$1.25	.....
Teachers (AFL).....	*	*	\$.10 to \$.40 depending on earnings	.....
Teamsters and Warehousemen (AFL).....	**	\$2 min.	\$.30	.....
Telegraphers, Commercial (AFL)	\$5 min.	\$18 min. per year for some divisions, \$6 min. per year for others	\$.25 to \$.75 depending on division and earnings	Death
Telephone Workers (IND).....	*	*	\$.09	.....
Textile Workers (AFL).....	*	\$1 min.	\$.50	.....
Textile Workers (CIO).....	\$1	\$1 min.	\$.50	.....

	\$.25 per week min.	50 per cent of local dues	Death; Sickness
Tobacco Workers (AFL).....	\$1 min.	Not stated	.....
Tool and Die Craftsmen (IND)....	\$5 min.	All dues	.....
Train Dispatchers (IND).....	\$10	\$1	.....
Transport Service (CIO).....	\$5	\$.50 for those earning less than \$.77 per hour; \$.75 for others	.....
Transport Workers (CIO).....	\$3 min.	\$.80 plus 2 per cent of earnings	Death; Pension; Home for aged
Typographical Union (AFL).....	*10	\$.60 journeymen \$.40 women	.....
Upholsterers (AFL).....	\$3 min. for journeymen, \$2 min. for women, \$25 max.	\$1 min.	.....
Utility Workers (CIO).....	\$2	\$.50	.....
Wall Paper Craftsmen (AFL).....	\$100 for craftsmen \$10 for general workers \$300 if trade was learned in foreign country other than Canada	\$1.50 for craftsmen \$.50 for general workers	Death
Welders (Aircraft) (IND).....	\$3 min., \$15 max.	\$.40	.....
Wire Weavers (AFL).....	Not stated	\$.25 min.	.....

TABLE III. INITIATION FEES AND DUES SPECIFIED IN UNION CONSTITUTIONS—Continued

Union and Affiliation	Initiation Fees	Monthly Dues	Monthly Per Capita Tax	Benefits Financed by Regular Dues
Wood Carvers (IND).....	\$25 min.	*	\$1.25 per quarter	Death
Woodworkers (CIO).....	\$5 min.	\$1 min.	\$.60	.....

¹ Many locals charge \$10 to \$25 for beneficial members and \$5 or less for others.

² Most locals charge from \$25 to \$50, although some charge at least \$100.

³ These minima represent full amount charged by most locals.

⁴ Many locals actually charge \$5 initiation fees and \$4 to \$6 a month dues.

⁵ Majority of locals charge \$50 to \$100, although some charge more.

⁶ Large number of locals charge \$25.

⁷ Most locals charge less than \$25.

⁸ Many locals charge \$150.

⁹ Most locals charge \$10 to \$25, although some in large cities charge from \$50 to \$150.

¹⁰ Most locals charge \$15 to \$35 depending upon age of applicants.

* Amounts established by locals.

** May be increased or lowered with approval of the General Executive Board.

Part III. EDUCATIONAL AND BENEFICIAL ACTIVITIES OF LABOR UNIONS

CHAPTER IX THE LABOR PRESS

LABOR unions have always relied upon their own publications to keep their members informed about union activities and general matters affecting workers' interests. While a number of the union journals are "trade" papers in that they are confined almost entirely to the news within their own organizations, an increasing number cover a much wider field. These place major emphasis on the broader interests of labor, such as the progress of unions in general, and the economic and political issues which affect union members as well as workers generally. Since union papers naturally discuss matters from organized labor's point of view and in relation to what they consider to be in the general interest of wage earners, these papers frequently present a different interpretation and selection of news and events than is given in the daily press.

General Types. The various labor organizations are regularly publishing some 500 papers and journals,¹ some of them monthly, many of them weekly. In a majority of cases they are distributed to all members, the price being a part of the per capita dues. The journals of a few unions are distributed through individual subscriptions; in some cases the locals subscribe for quantities which they distribute at their membership meetings. Through these various channels of distribution, it can be assumed that one or more labor papers are now being received regularly in at least ten million homes.

¹ Additional publications directed to particular interests of workers are issued by groups and organizations not directly attached to the labor movement, such as co-operative associations, the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, etc. See *The American Labor Press*, an annotated directory published by the American Council on Public Affairs, Washington, D.C., 1940.

Labor papers are of three general kinds: Those published by the various federations such as the American Federation of Labor, Congress of Industrial Organizations, and the Railroad Brotherhoods; those published by the International unions and their locals; and the papers issued by city or district central bodies and state federations. In addition are the pamphlets and other literature issued from time to time, for particular purposes, by the federated groups, the Internationals and local organizations.

Press Services. Both the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations issue a weekly news service in clip-sheet form for the use of their affiliated members, both International and local central unions. They include an editorial column, items on current political and economic affairs of interest to labor, as well as the more important events of their unions. During election years they include information on the various candidates' labor record, frequently tabulating the candidates' votes on each proposed and enacted piece of legislation having any bearing on labor's interests. Many of the individual unions and central bodies also use press services which are not organically connected with the labor movement. The *Federated Press* and the recently established *Labor Press Associates* are nonprofit, co-operative labor news services which provide daily and weekly news as well as cartoons, comic strips and feature articles. For foreign labor news many labor papers use the *Allied Labor News Service* of New York. During the past year a new service called the Labor Institute, has been established which issues *Labor's Confidential Analyst* in which pertinent economic and political issues are analyzed from labor's point of view.

PUBLICATIONS OF FEDERATED GROUPS

The American Federationist, a monthly publication, is the official magazine of the American Federation of Labor. It now appears on the newsstands, having recently taken the form of a magazine designed for reading by the general public as well as union members. It contains illustrated articles on various subjects directly and indirectly related to the interests of workers, as well as labor news from foreign countries and throughout this country.

The CIO News is the official weekly publication of the Congress of

Industrial Organizations. It is an eight-page newspaper intended primarily for CIO members, containing news items about the various affiliated unions, editorials and comments on the actions of governmental agencies, legislation, and political events affecting labor. The official organs of a number of the CIO International unions and state and city industrial union councils are published as special editions of *The CIO News*, the outside pages being devoted to the news and announcements of their own particular organizations, while the inside pages are the same as in the national edition of *The CIO News*.

Both the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations issue monthly bulletins devoted entirely to a factual presentation of important economic problems. The former is the *AFL Labor's Monthly Survey* and the latter the *CIO Economic Outlook*. These bulletins, prepared by their respective research offices, are for the purpose of explaining and interpreting the impact of economic events on labor in general. Each issue is devoted to an analysis of one or two major current problems such as cost of living, proposed tax legislation, national income, employment and unemployment, wages and hours, etc. The discussions for the most part are based on governmental statistical data and are essentially an interpretation of economic issues from labor's point of view.

The weekly newspaper *Labor*, published in Washington, is the official weekly paper of the Standard Railroad Labor Organizations and was the first national weekly to be launched by the labor movement. In 1919 fifteen railroad unions established the Labor Co-operative Educational and Publishing Society which conducts the affairs of *Labor* on a co-operative basis. Each organization has one vote and no dividends are declared, since savings are diverted to a reserve fund. The paper does not use paid advertising, and since 1922 has met its expenses with the money derived from subscriptions.

Except on special occasions, it consists of four pages, newspaper size, and in this space the editors deal primarily with matters concerning the railroads and workers on the railroads, although they cover many other political and economic subjects which are of interest to the workers and the public generally. *Labor* now has a paid circulation of approximately 750,000.

Central Labor Papers. The weekly papers issued by the numerous city and county central labor unions throughout the country comprise the bulk of the labor press, since every city and county central organiza-

tion generally issues some kind of paper for the members of those unions affiliated with it. These local papers serve as clearinghouses for their member locals, promote unified action on common problems within the community, and keep their readers informed on local

CARTOONS IN LABOR PRESS

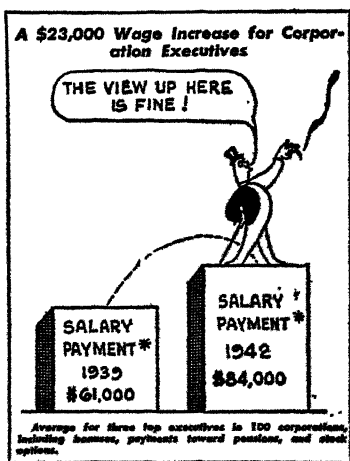
WRONG POST-WAR LAWS COULD LOSE THE PEACE



AFL Survey, May, 1944



CIO Outlook, July, 1944



CIO Outlook, May, 1944

matters. While they deal primarily with union and trade matters within the local community, they also include items from the general labor press and thus are important media for reaching the rank and file union members throughout the country.

Usually these local papers are issued at 5 cents a copy, the subscription generally being included as a part of the regular dues. To help

cover the cost of publication, most of them carry paid advertising. In addition to the local central organizations, some of the AFL state federations and CIO state industrial councils issue weekly newspapers or monthly journals; also, some of the larger locals and joint councils publish papers for distribution among their members. The journals and papers of the state organizations are concerned primarily with federal and state legislation, workers' education, and general labor and union conditions, although they also include reports on the activities of their affiliated organizations.

PAMPHLETS

One of the outstanding developments in labor literature during recent years has been the increasing number of pamphlets being published by the CIO, and both the AFL and CIO Internationals and some of their larger locals. Most of these pamphlets are prepared by the research and education departments of the unions; they are attractive in appearance, usually illustrated, sometimes in color, and are written in language easily understood by the rank-and-file workers. A majority of them are 20- to 30-page booklets which sell for 5 to 10 cents per copy.

Each pamphlet usually deals with a particular subject: some are designed to induce nonmembers to join the union; some are to instruct new members on union and labor matters and to encourage their continued loyalty to their unions; some are prepared especially for the use of shop stewards and organizers. The following titles, selected at random, suggest the variety of subjects covered:

Bargaining for the Union, For Job Stewards and Committeemen—International Woodworkers of America

The Church and Labor—Congress of Industrial Organizations

Good Shelter for Everyone, A Housing Program for an Economy of Abundance—Congress of Industrial Organizations

Half a Million Forgotten People, The Story of the Cotton Textile Workers—Textile Workers Union of America

Grievance Machinery and How To Make It Work—District 50, United Mine Workers of America

How to Speak at Union Meetings—United Automobile, Aircraft & Agricultural Implement Workers of America

Industry Planning Through Collective Bargaining—International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

Instructions to Organizers—American Federation of Labor

Labor and Education, How members of the labor movement and the teaching profession may improve our school system—Congress of Industrial Organizations

Labor Defends America—International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

Labor in American History—Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America

Let's Get Organized, How to organize a CIO Women's Auxiliary—Congress of Industrial Organizations

The Man Ought to Know Better, Reasons for joining the union—District Lodge 727, International Association of Machinists

Organized Labor and Management—United Steelworkers of America

Producing for Victory—Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians

The Role of Organized Labor in Education for Racial Understanding—Congress of Industrial Organizations

Training for Union Service—International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

U. E. Guide to Wage Payment Plans, Time Study and Job Evaluation—United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America

Union Chairman's Manual—District Lodge 727, International Association of Machinists

The Union Trouble Shooters—Industrial Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America

Victory Through Unionism—Local 34, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners

Wartime Collective Bargaining—International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers

Welcome, Brothers and Sisters—by Local 7 (Chrysler), United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America

The White Collar Workers and the Future of the Nation—United Office and Professional Workers of America

You and Your Union—Seafarers' Int'l Union of North America

You Can Have Decent Wages and Working Conditions if You Go after Them—Congress of Industrial Organizations

Your Union—American Federation of State, County & Municipal Employees

INTERNATIONAL UNION JOURNALS²

Almost all the Internationals have regular publications which vary greatly in size, style and content, as well as frequency of publication.

²For a complete index to subjects discussed in union journals published from 1907 to 1941 and historical summaries of the contents of some of the more important union papers see *Trade Union Publications* (3 vols.), by Reynolds & Killingsworth, Johns Hopkins Press, 1944.

Most of the unions issue monthly journals, although a few are issued weekly or fortnightly while others are quarterlies. A number of the CIO unions use the special edition of *The CIO News* with supplementary pages for news about their particular unions. Some of the publications of the Internationals take the form of illustrated magazines, some are in newspaper style, while others, especially those of the smaller unions, are four- or eight-page pamphlets. All of them, of course, provide the official news of the union as well as the more important news of their various locals and members. Trade and shop problems, such as safety, technology, general wage conditions, also are discussed. To encourage family reading, a number have sports and comic sections and columns devoted to household matters.

To an increasing extent the union journals are devoting both editorial and news columns to discussions of general economic, political and international affairs. The editorials naturally reflect the attitudes of the union's officers, especially the president, although in a few cases the editor is quite independent of the other elected officers.

At least half the papers carry advertising to help pay the cost of publication. Most generally the subscription price of the International's publication is \$1 a year or 3 cents to 5 cents a copy. Quite a number, on the other hand, are higher in price, ranging anywhere from \$1.50 to \$2.50 a year. The latter usually are elaborate, illustrated monthly journals. As already indicated, most unions include the price of their publications as a part of their dues assessments in order that they will be received regularly by all their members.

The following is a list of 142 regularly published journals of International unions. Three of the AFL union journals are published quarterly, 9 bimonthly, 68 monthly, 2 semimonthly, and 5 weekly, while several, mostly small unions, do not issue regular journals. Of the CIO union papers, 20 are published each month, 9 semimonthly, and 5 weekly. Two of the independent unions publish quarterly journals, 1 bimonthly, 15 monthly, 1 semimonthly, and 2 weekly.

REGULAR JOURNALS OF INTERNATIONAL UNIONS

ACA News, monthly—American Communications Ass'n (CIO)

Advance, semimonthly—Amalgamated Clothing Workers (CIO)

The Airline Mechanic, monthly—Int'l Air Line Mechanics Association (Ind.)

Airline Pilot, monthly—Int'l Air Line Pilots Association (AFL)

American Federation of Labor Auto Workers, monthly—United Automobile Workers (AFL)

The American Flint, monthly—American Flint Glass Workers Union (AFL)

American Lace Worker, bimonthly—Amalgamated Lace Operatives (Ind.)

The American Marine Engineer, monthly—Nat'l Marine Engineers' Beneficial Ass'n (CIO)

The American Photo-Engraver, monthly—Int'l Photo-Engravers' Union (AFL)

American Pressmen, monthly—Int'l Printing Pressmen's & Assistants' Union (AFL)

The American Teacher, monthly—American Federation of Teachers (AFL)

Asbestos Worker, quarterly—Int'l Ass'n of Heat and Frost Insulators and Asbestos Workers (AFL)

Bakers' & Confectioners' Journal, weekly—Bakery & Confectionery Workers' (AFL)

The Black Worker, bimonthly—Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (AFL)

Boilermakers Journal, monthly—Int'l Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders, & Helpers (AFL)

Brewery Worker, weekly—Int'l Union of United Brewery, Flour, Cereal & Soft Drink Workers (Ind.)

Bricklayer, Mason & Plasterer, monthly—Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers Int'l Union (AFL)

The Bridge Men's Magazine, monthly—Int'l Ass'n of Bridge, Structural Iron Workers (AFL)

The Broom Maker, monthly—Int'l Broom & Whisk Makers Union (AFL)

Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen & Enginemen's Magazine, monthly—Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen & Enginemen (Ind.)

The Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees Journal, monthly—Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees (AFL)

The Bulletin, monthly—Transport Workers Union (CIO)

Building Service Employee, bimonthly—Building Service Employees' Int'l Union (AFL)

Butcher Workman, monthly—Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen (AFL)

The Carpenter, monthly—United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners (AFL)

The Catering Industry Employee, monthly—Hotel & Restaurant Employees' Int'l Alliance and Bartenders' Int'l League (AFL)

Cigar Makers Official Journal, monthly—Cigarmakers Int'l Union (AFL)
CIO News, Special Edition

Irregular, Int'l Fed'n of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians (CIO)

- Monthly, Fed'n of Glass, Ceramic & Silica Sand Workers (CIO)
Monthly, United Shoe Workers (CIO)
Monthly, United Transport Service Employees (CIO)
Monthly, Utility Workers Organizing Committee (CIO)
CIO Oil Facts, semimonthly—Oil Workers Int'l Union (CIO)
The Commercial Telegraphers Journal, monthly—Commercial Telegraphers' Union (AFL)
Coopers Int'l Journal, monthly—Coopers Int'l Union (AFL)
The Craftsman's News, monthly—The Society of Tool & Die Craftsmen (Ind.)
Distillery, Rectifying & Wine Workers' Int'l Journal, monthly—Distillery, Rectifying & Wine Workers International Union (AFL)
Educator, monthly—Mechanics Educational Society (Ind.)
Elevator Constructor, monthly—Int'l Union of Elevator Constructors (AFL)
Equity, monthly—Actors' Equity & Chorus Equity Ass'ns (AFL)
F E News, semimonthly—United Farm Equipment & Metal Workers (CIO)
The Federal Employee, monthly—National Federation of Federal Employees (Ind.)
The Federal Record, monthly—United Federal Workers (CIO)
Firemen & Oilers Journal, semiannually—Int'l Brotherhood of Firemen & Oilers (AFL)
Fur & Leather Worker, monthly—Int'l Fur & Leather Workers Union (CIO)
Furniture Workers Press, monthly—United Furniture Workers (CIO)
Garment Worker, monthly—United Garment Workers (AFL)
General Bulletin, monthly—Int'l Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees & Moving Picture Operators (AFL)
The Glass Cutter, monthly—Window Glass Cutters League (AFL)
Government Standard, weekly—American Fed'n of Government Employees (AFL)
Grain Processors Monthly Bulletin, monthly—American Fed'n of Grain Processors Council (AFL)
Granite Cutters Journal, monthly—Granite Cutters' Int'l Ass'n (AFL)
Great Lakes Seafarer, monthly—Great Lakes District Seafarers Int'l Union (AFL)
Guild Reporter, semimonthly—American Newspaper Guild (CIO)
Hat Worker, monthly—United Hatters, Cap & Millinery Workers' Int'l Union (AFL)
The Hosiery Worker, monthly—American Fed'n of Hosiery Workers (CIO)
ILWU Dispatcher, biweekly—Int'l Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union (CIO)
In Union Circles, monthly—Associated Unions of America (Ind.)

- International Bookbinder*, monthly—Int'l Brotherhood of Bookbinders (AFL)
- The International Chemical Worker*, monthly—Int'l Chemical Workers Union (AFL)
- International Engineer*, monthly—Int'l Union of Operating Engineers (AFL)
- The International Fire Fighter*, monthly—Int'l Ass'n of Fire Fighters (AFL)
- International Gloveworkers Union of America*, monthly—Int'l Glove Workers Union (AFL)
- International Laundry Worker*, monthly—Laundry Workers Int'l Union (AFL)
- International Molders & Foundry Workers Journal*, monthly—Int'l Molders & Foundry Workers Union (AFL)
- International Musician*, monthly—American Fed'n of Musicians (AFL)
- International Stereotypers' & Electrotypers' Union Journal*, monthly—Int'l Stereotypers' & Electrotypers' Union (AFL)
- The International Teamster*, monthly—Int'l Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen & Helpers (AFL)
- International Woodworker*, weekly—Int'l Woodworkers (CIO)
- Jewelry Workers' Monthly Bulletin*, monthly—Int'l Jewelry Workers' Union (AFL)
- The Journal of Electrical Workers & Operators*, monthly—Int'l Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (AFL)
- Journal of State & Local Government Employees*, monthly—American Fed'n of State, County & Municipal Employees (AFL)
- Journal of the Switchmen's Union*, monthly—Switchmen's Union (AFL)
- The Journeymen Barber, Hairdresser and Cosmetologist*, monthly—The Journeymen Barbers, Hairdressers & Cosmetologists' Int'l Union (AFL)
- Journeymen Plumbers & Steamfitters Journal*, monthly—United Ass'n of Plumbers & Steamfitters (AFL)
- Justice*, semimonthly—Int'l Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (AFL)
- Labor*, weekly—15 Railroad unions
- The Lather*, monthly—Int'l Union of Wood, Wire & Metal Lathers (AFL)
- The Lithographers' Journal*, monthly—Amalgamated Lithographers (AFL)
- The Longshoreman*, irregular—Int'l Longshoremen's Ass'n (AFL)
- Machinists Monthly Journal*, monthly—Int'l Ass'n of Machinists (AFL)
- The Master, Mate and Pilot*, monthly—Nat'l Organization of Masters, Mates & Pilots (AFL)
- Metal Polisher, Buffer & Plater*, bimonthly—Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, & Helpers Int'l Union (AFL)
- Monthly Outlook*, bimonthly—Int'l Fed'n of Technical Engineers, Architects & Draftsmen's Unions (AFL)
- The Motorman, Conductor & Motor Coach Operator*, monthly—Amal-

- gamated Ass'n of Street, Electric Railway & Motor Coach Employees (AFL)
- National Rural Letter Carrier*, weekly—Nat'l Rural Letter Carriers' Ass'n (Ind.)
- News Flashes*, monthly—Int'l Die Sinkers Conference (Ind.)
- News Letter*, irregular—Int'l Ladies Handbag, Luggage, Belt & Novelty Workers Union (AFL)
- News of State, County, & Municipal Workers*, monthly—State, County & Municipal Workers (CIO)
- Office & Professional News*, monthly—United Office and Professional Workers (CIO)
- The Office Worker*, monthly—Int'l Office Employees Union (AFL)
- Official Bulletin Metal Engravers Union*, monthly—Int'l Metal Engravers Union (AFL)
- The Packinghouse Worker*, weekly—United Packinghouse Workers (CIO)
- Painter and Decorator*, monthly—Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators & Paperhangers (AFL)
- The Paper Makers Journal*, bimonthly—Int'l Brotherhood of Paper Makers (AFL)
- The Paper Worker*, monthly—Paper Workers Organizing Committee (CIO)
- Pattern Makers Journal*, bimonthly—Pattern Makers' League of No. America (AFL)
- The Pilot*, weekly—Nat'l Maritime Union of America (CIO)
- Plasterer & Cement Finisher*, monthly—Operative Plasterers' & Cement Finishers Int'l Ass'n (AFL)
- The Post Office Clerk*, quarterly—United Nat'l Ass'n of Post Office Clerks (Ind.)
- The Postal Alliance*, monthly—Nat'l Alliance of Postal Employees (Ind.)
- Postal Laborer*, monthly—Nat'l Ass'n of Post Office & Railway Mail Handlers (AFL)
- Postal Record*, monthly—Nat'l Ass'n of Letter Carriers (AFL)
- Postal Supervisor*, monthly—Nat'l Ass'n of Postal Supervisors (Ind.)
- Postmasters Advocate*, monthly—Nat'l League of District Postmasters (Ind.)
- The Potters Herald*, weekly—Nat'l Brotherhood of Operative Potters (AFL)
- Progressive Miner*, semimonthly—Progressive Mine Workers (AFL)
- Pulp, Sulphite & Paper Mill Workers' Journal*, bimonthly—Int'l Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite & Paper Mill Workers (AFL)
- The Railroad Telegrapher*, monthly—Order of Railroad Telegraphers (AFL)
- The Railroad Trainman*, monthly—Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen (Ind.)

- The Railroad Yardmaster*, quarterly—Railroad Yardmasters (Ind.)
- Railway Carmen's Journal*, monthly—Brotherhood of Railway Carmen (AFL)
- The Railway Clerk*, monthly—Brotherhood of Railway & Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees (AFL)
- The Railway Conductor*, monthly—Order of Railway Conductors (Ind.)
- The Railway Post Office*, monthly—Railway Mail Ass'n (AFL)
- Retail Clerks International Advocate*, bimonthly—Retail Clerks Int'l Protective Ass'n (AFL)
- Retail, Wholesale & Department Store Employee*, monthly—United Retail, Wholesale & Department Store Employees (CIO)
- Rural Delivery Journal*, bimonthly—Nat'l Fed'n of Rural Letter Carriers (AFL)
- Seafarers Log*, weekly—Seafarers Int'l Union (AFL)
- Shipyard Worker*, weekly—Industrial Union of Marine & Shipbuilding Workers (CIO)
- Shoeworkers Journal*, monthly—Boot & Shoe Workers Union (AFL)
- The Signalman's Journal*, monthly—Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen (Ind.)
- Special Messenger*, monthly—The Nat'l Ass'n of Special Delivery Messengers (AFL)
- Steel Labor*, monthly—United Steelworkers (CIO)
- Stone Cutters Journal*, bimonthly—Journeyman Stonecutters' Ass'n (AFL)
- Stove Mounters & Range Workers' Journal*, quarterly—Stove Mounters Int'l Union (AFL)
- The Supervisor*, monthly—Foreman's Ass'n (Ind.)
- Textile Dyer*, semimonthly—Fed'n of Dyers, Finishers, Printers & Bleachers (CIO)
- Textile Labor*, monthly—Textile Workers Union (CIO)
- The Textile Worker*, monthly—United Textile Workers (AFL)
- The Telephone Worker*, monthly—Nat'l Fed'n of Telephone Workers (Ind.)
- Tobacco Worker*, monthly—Tobacco Workers Int'l Union (AFL)
- Train Dispatcher*, 9 times a year—American Train Dispatcher (Ind.)
- Typographical Journal*, monthly—Int'l Typographical Union (AFL)
- UCAPAWA News*, semimonthly—United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing & Allied Workers (CIO)
- U. E. News*, weekly—United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers (CIO)
- UIU Journal*, monthly—Upholsterers' Int'l Union (AFL)
- The Union*, biweekly—Int'l Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers (CIO)
- Union Postal Clerk*, monthly—Nat'l Fed'n of Post Office Clerks (AFL)

- Union Voice*, monthly—Playthings, Jewelry & Novelty Workers Int'l Union (CIO)
- United Automobile Workers*, semi-monthly—United Automobile, Aircraft & Agricultural Implement Workers (CIO)
- United Mine Workers Journal*, semimonthly—United Mine Workers (Ind.)
- United Rubber Worker*, monthly—United Rubber Workers (CIO)
- Voice of the Union Cement, Lime, Gypsum & Allied Worker*, monthly—United Cement, Lime & Gypsum Workers Int'l Union (AFL)
- Victory*, semimonthly—United Gas, Coke & Chemical Workers (CIO)
- West Coast Sailors*, weekly—Sailors Union of the Pacific (AFL)
- Wood Carver*, quarterly—Int'l Wood Carvers' Ass'n (Ind.)

CHAPTER X

EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF UNIONS

ORGANIZED labor has always been vitally concerned with programs to further educational opportunities for both youth and adults. It was largely through the efforts of early workingmen's associations that a tax-supported school system was established in this country during the first half of the nineteenth century. With the general adoption of public education, organized labor has been concerned with extending its benefits to an ever-widening group. To that end it has opposed child labor and favored compulsory school attendance, and has sponsored evening classes in the public schools for employed adults. The enactment in 1917 of the Smith-Hughes Act for vocational training under a system of federal grants-in-aid to the states was a culmination of a decade's effort on the part of organized labor.

During recent years there has been a growing consciousness that organized labor itself has an educational task to perform which should have a two-way direction: to bring to workers a clearer knowledge of economic problems and the place of labor unions in modern industrial society, and to lead the general public to a better understanding of the meaning and purposes of the labor movement. The first has been accentuated by the great influx of previously unorganized workers into unions during the past decade; the second has become urgent by the very fact of this expansion, which has caused some public apprehension and, in some sectors, objections to a revitalized, strengthened labor movement.

Educational activities of unions are of several varieties, each having its distinct purpose: there are the vocational programs for the training of apprentices and improving the skills of older workers; there are the classes and literature which are concerned primarily with giving rank-and-file members a better understanding of economics and labor problems, and incidentally with broadening their cultural develop-

ment, as well as the training courses for union organizers, stewards and other officers which are designed to improve their proficiency in the conduct of union affairs; there are the programs which have been inaugurated from time to time for the express purpose of giving the general public a better understanding of the aims and activities of the unions; finally, there are the campaigns and informational service directed toward legislative and political action.

APPRENTICE AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING

Most of the skilled craft unions in the metal, printing and building trades have always considered the training of apprentices to be one of their major functions. There are several reasons why these unions have been willing to assume this responsibility instead of relying upon the employers for the training of new workers: the unions' ability to guarantee employers a sufficient supply of competent, skilled workers has helped them in their collective bargaining, especially for closed-shop contracts; by establishing fixed training rules and procedures, the unions are able to maintain those skill and job standards which they consider of prime importance; formal apprenticeship provides a means to guide the intake of workers into the trades.¹

While apprentice training programs rely chiefly upon learning on the job, all formal training systems include supplementary classroom or other off-the-job instruction. In former years a number of the unions undertook classroom instruction for their apprentices but this was seldom satisfactory because of lack of equipment and able instructors. With the development of vocational schools as a part of the public-school system, the classroom and laboratory training of apprentices has been largely taken over by the vocational schools which work in close co-operation with the local unions and employers. The usual plan is for an indentured apprentice to spend at least one day a week at school; by the end of his apprenticeship he has not only learned a skilled trade on the job but has received sufficient vocational and

¹ During periods of expanding employment it has sometimes been charged that scarcity of skilled workers was due to union restrictions and rules for admittance to journeyman status. An impartial study indicated, however, that employers' reluctance to undertake the expense and responsibility for apprentice training has been the chief factor. Also actual shortages of skilled workers in any trade have always been confined to short-time employment periods in particular areas. See Department of Labor *Monthly Labor Review*, June, 1928, pp. 21ff.

general education to secure a high-school diploma. In many communities the principal of the vocational school is in effect the director of apprentice training, under the plans and procedures sponsored by joint committees of unions and employers concerned with the particular trades taught.

To stimulate and promote apprenticeship under acceptable standards and under the safeguards and protections of formal indenture agreements, a Federal Committee on Apprentice Training was established in 1934,² composed of union, employer and government representatives with a full-time staff financed by federal funds. Since its beginning the president of the AFL Metal Trades Department has been a member of this committee which works in close co-operation with similarly constituted state and local committees.

Owing to ever-changing processes and improvements in machinery and materials, completion of the best kind of apprentice training is no guarantee of continued competency, and those unions which have assumed the responsibility of providing skilled workmen for employers have had to face the problem of keeping the skills of their journeymen members up to date. Most commonly this has been accomplished by arrangements with individual employers whereby journeymen versed in old methods are given an opportunity to learn to operate the new machines after they are installed in the plant.

An instance of planning for future needs is the program recently undertaken by the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers for the training of members in the operation and maintenance of electronic equipment by arrangements with the Engineering College of Marquette University in Milwaukee. The Brotherhood is financing six weeks' resident courses for about 700 members³ who in turn will become instructors in night classes conducted by their locals for other members having a need and desire to learn the new technology.

The printing unions provide the outstanding examples of continuing programs for advanced training and technical research, as well as

² The Federal Committee on Apprentice Training was originally created by Executive Order in 1934 but was given statutory authority as a governmental function in 1937 (Public Act No. 308). Originally a unit in the Department of Labor, it was transferred to the War Manpower Commission during the war.

³ Tuition, averaging about \$30,000 a year, is furnished by the International while the local unions pay the transportation and lodging expenses for the members they select to attend. *Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, August, 1944.

courses for apprentices. Not only do colleges and vocational schools use the texts and materials prepared by the educational bureau of the International Typographical Union, but the bureau also conducts correspondence courses for its enrolled apprentices which number between two to three thousand a year.

The Printing Pressmen's Union owns and operates what is probably the largest technical trade school for printing in the world. This school not only conducts correspondence courses for apprentices, but provides facilities for journeymen members who wish to qualify for better positions by learning the most modern letter press and offset processes.⁴ The union also provides technical service free of cost to unionized newspapers who send copies of their papers to the technical school for experts to study and make suggestions for improvements in printing and general appearance. The union's journal, *The American Pressman*, which is printed at the school, is a model of good printing and contains a great deal of technical information designed to improve the skill and knowledge of its readers.

WORKERS' EDUCATION

"Workers' education," as distinct from vocational training, generally refers to those programs which are primarily concerned with the study of general economic and social problems, the philosophy and activities of organized labor, and the teaching of such subjects as parliamentary law and public speaking to those who wish to assume positions of leadership in labor unions.

Workers' education programs were nonexistent before World War I;⁵ they grew in popularity during the early 1920's but declined thereafter. Accompanying the expanding labor movement, there was a

⁴ The technical trade school was established in 1912 and is located at the Printing Pressmen's Home at Knoxville, Tenn.

⁵ Many years previously workers engaged in hand crafts had used a unique means for self education while on the job. Before the introduction of noisy machines in shoe and cigar manufacturing, for instance, it was customary in many shops for the workers to employ one of their number to read aloud. Samuel Compers graphically portrays this in his *Seventy Years of Life and Labor*: "These things [methods of rolling a cigar] a good cigarmaker learned to do more or less mechanically, which left us free to think, talk, listen or sing. . . . Often we chose someone to read to us who was a particularly good reader, and in payment the rest of us gave him sufficient of our cigars so he was not the loser. The reading was always followed by discussion, so we learned to know each other pretty thoroughly."

marked revival during the late 1930's. While there have been some reductions during the present war, many workers' educational programs have continued with many unions planning expanded programs for the postwar period.

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, a pioneer and outstanding leader in such activities, established an educational department in 1917 which soon thereafter was conducting thriving night classes in English, economics, sociology and related subjects, in half a dozen of the public school buildings in New York and Philadelphia. Other unions became interested and by 1921 there were no less than 24 workers' educational enterprises in 22 cities scattered from coast to coast with an enrollment of 5,000 members.⁶ All were evening classes; most of them were held in labor halls although several were conducted in public schools and libraries. Some were sponsored by particular unions but most were under the auspices of city central organizations, aided in many instances by the Women's Trade Union League⁷ and outside groups and individuals.

In 1921 the Workers Education Bureau was founded to act as a clearinghouse in co-ordinating the various existing experiments and to stimulate further efforts. For a time the Bureau attempted to work with left-wing groups as well as with trade unions, but in 1923 it dropped the former and accepted organic relationship with the American Federation of Labor.⁸ During recent years the Bureau has concentrated its main efforts to promoting labor institutes which are generally week-end conferences sponsored by state federations and local labor organizations in co-operation with some responsible institutes of higher learning in which current matters of interest to workers are discussed. One of the best known is the annual institute at Rutgers University, inaugurated in 1930 under the auspices of the Workers Education Bureau, the New Jersey Federation of Labor and the University.

While there was a lull in union educational activities during the later part of the 1920's and the 1930-1932 depression, the revival and

⁶ Report of Workers' Education Conference in U.S. Department of Labor *Monthly Labor Review*, June 1921.

⁷ The Women's Trade Union League was established in 1903 as a fraternal organization within the AFL. It includes women outside the labor movement as well as union members, its major activities being the promotion of protective legislation and education for women workers.

⁸ The Workers Education Bureau is supported by contributions from the AFL and from such of its Internationals and local unions which care to affiliate with the Bureau as well as contributions from outside the AFL.

growth of the labor movement under the New Deal gave new impetus to all kinds of union educational projects.⁹ Unions which previously had educational programs expanded their activities while the new unions, as well as old unions which had never before interested themselves in educational work, established education departments and inaugurated a variety of different kinds of projects.

In 1943 the International Ladies' Garment Workers had more than 17,000 students registered in 700 classes in their various centers throughout the country and in addition conducted a number of institutes, popular lectures, dramatic and musical activities. The programs of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and Hosiery Workers have had a corresponding expansion. The Upholsterers' International, Marine & Shipbuilding Workers, Oil Workers, Automobile Workers, Office and Professional Workers, Textile Workers Union, United Electrical Workers, and others, have conducted series of night classes in numerous cities for their members as well as special courses for their stewards and local officers.

The United Steelworkers has held training conferences in various steel centers for their local officers and committee members; in some instances foremen were also invited and joint discussions on shop problems and management-worker relationships were discussed. The Steelworkers as well as several other unions, in addition to evening classes, have sponsored two-week summer courses at convenient camp sites.

In a number of communities, various local unions have conducted joint programs which are open to members of all the unions in the locality.¹⁰ Outstanding examples are the New Haven Labor College, staffed largely by instructors from Yale University, and the Milwaukee Labor College, under sponsorship of the Federated Trades Council, and the California Labor School which is supported by both CIO and AFL unions.

⁹ While the adult education project of the WPA made a substantial contribution to the general program of workers' education, it is not discussed here since it was not an intrinsic part of organized labor's activities. For the same reason the workers' educational activities of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists and various settlement houses are not discussed.

¹⁰ Some of these projects have been discontinued during the war. For further details concerning those in existence just prior to the war, see "Workers' Education in the United States," by Eleanor Cort and Mark Starr in Department of Labor *Monthly Labor Review*, July, 1939. See also *Workers' Education Today* by Mark Starr, a pamphlet published in 1941 by the League for Industrial Democracy, New York.

A few of the oldest unions, as indicated above, have for many years maintained education departments and employed full-time education directors. Reflecting the trend of the times, a number of the new unions established such departments with full-time directors as a part of their regular staff at the time they first organized. The Congress of Industrial Organizations has a combined research and education department with an assistant director to promote educational activities among its affiliated unions and members.

The CIO Automobile Workers constitution states that "education shall be a recognized part of the business of the International union and of each local union, particularly education in history, principles and objectives of this International union and the labor movement," and specifies that 2½ cents of the per capita dues shall be reserved for the use of the International's education department and that each local union shall set aside an additional 2½ cents per month per member for its own educational and recreational activities. Likewise, the Rubber Workers constitution establishes a research and education department which is supported by the allocation of 2 cents out of each of their dollar a month dues.

The Agricultural and Cannery Workers at its first convention (1937) voted a 1 cent per capita tax for workers' education and the same year the Flat Glass Workers and the Transport Workers established education departments. In response to the unique challenge offered to its position in the labor movement, the American Federation of Teachers created a Workers' Education Committee in 1938 for the dual purpose of informing teachers themselves about workers' education and about labor, and to secure their assistance for educational activities among the unions.

The function of the educational department within an International union is to promote educational activities by its locals and to supply them with necessary material for study programs and for libraries in local union halls. To that end, they publish readable, illustrative pamphlets¹¹ and furnish articles for the union journal on various subjects of interest to workers. The CIO Automobile Workers educational department publishes a 32-page illustrated monthly journal called *Ammunition*.

With most unions, participation in their educational programs is voluntary for both members and officers, although a few require the

¹¹ See Chap. IX.

latter to undergo some formal training after accepting office. The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union is unique in insisting that, while a new member is paying the installments on his initiation fee, he must attend four class periods to learn about his rights and duties as a union member, where his union dues go and how shop grievances are settled. This union also requires candidates for union office to take qualification courses or otherwise meet the requirements as laid down by its educational department before placing their names on the ballot.¹²

Resident Schools. In addition to local study groups and annual institutes for the benefit of any members who care to attend, many unions directly and indirectly sponsor a number of resident schools which are primarily intended to train members for positions of leadership in their local and International organizations.

A pioneer resident school was *Brookwood Labor College* at Katonah, N.Y., established in 1921, which offered two-year courses to men and women students from the ranks of labor. While the original sponsors stated that the school was not intended to be a propagandist institution, in 1927 the American Federation of Labor withdrew its support on the ground that it was spreading radical doctrines which were alien to the American labor movement. Although a few AFL and independent unions continued to send students and financial support, the school gradually declined and in 1937 closed, having graduated some 400 workers during its sixteen years' existence.

Commonwealth College, founded in 1923 at Mena, Ark. was never directly sponsored by organized labor although its purpose was to train union organizers, particularly for work in the South. It was operated on a co-operative basis, the students participating in the work on the farm to supplement the donations made by outsiders. Before its liquidation in 1940 it became dominated by left-wing groups outside the labor movement.

In 1942, Harvard University established a training program for union leadership¹³ which consists of a year's residence study under regular instructors of the university. Persons who attend are selected

¹² "Workers' Education" by Mark Starr, *American Federationist*, June, 1943.

¹³ The university considers this project to be an extension of its executive training program which it has been giving for a number of years to men entering business and public service.

by the unions from among their own membership; they are usually mature men who have served in some capacity in their unions and who wish to qualify for greater responsibilities within the labor movement.¹⁴ The basic courses deal with such subjects as economic analysis, trade union problems and policies, personnel and human problems in administration. The studies and discussions are based on actual situations rather than textbooks, the materials used being transcripts of arbitration proceedings, employer and union briefs submitted at negotiations, case materials collected from plant visits, as well as the experiences presented by the members attending.

Unlike the colleges with enrollment on a yearly basis are the Workers' Summer Schools which offer 2-to-6 weeks' courses to 100 or more students each summer. The first of these was the *Bryn Mawr Summer School* which opened in 1920 for the purpose of bringing about a closer relation between the college and women in industry. In 1939 this school moved to West Park, N. Y., and is now operating as the *Hudson Shore Labor School*.

Other schools of the same general character but having both men and women students are the *University of Wisconsin School for Workers*, the *Pacific Coast School* at Berkeley, Calif., the *Southern Summer School for Workers* at Asheville, N.C., the *Highlander Folk School* in Monteagle, Tenn., and the *Summer School for Office Workers* in Chicago, Ill. The *Wisconsin School for Workers* is unique in that it maintains a year-round staff which during the winter conducts short institutes and classes throughout the state in co-operation with local labor unions.

While all these schools are independent and governed by their own boards of directors, they are closely linked with the labor movement through co-operative relationships. Their boards include union officers, and local unions often provide scholarships for their members who attend. Co-ordinating these summer schools, as well as assisting other worker education groups, is the *American Labor Education Service* which provides technical advisory services, issues study material, and undertakes programs for the preparation of teachers in workers' education.

¹⁴ Of the 13 members who attended the first year, 10 were sent by their unions and 3 were granted fellowships by the university with the approval of their unions. Owing to war conditions, only 6 were in attendance during the academic year 1943-1944.

PUBLIC RELATIONS

In spite of the activities of some International and local unions, many persons inside and outside the labor movement feel that much remains to be done in the way of educating members and workers generally about the function and purposes of labor unions and workers' place in modern industrial society.¹⁵ Even more neglected, they feel, have been efforts to give the general public the facts concerning union activities and the principles and methods by which they operate. Discounting deliberate partisan bias and personal prejudices, a great deal of the current antagonism and misunderstanding about unions and their members is due to the simple fact of being uninformed,¹⁶ and organized labor faces a serious problem in getting its story across to the public through the ordinary channels of communication—the schools, press and radio.

Much of the lack of knowledge and understanding on the part of the public, as well as the members of the unions, is attributable to the public schools and colleges, for relatively few educational institutions have accepted or responded to the fact that labor organizations are an integral part of the nation's industrial life. Although most of the youth attending city public schools, and many from rural schools, will enter industry as wage earners and will have to face the question of their personal relationship to labor unions, only a few have been taught much about labor organizations—why they exist, how they function, their shortcomings and their merits. Although the number is increasing, comparatively few colleges and other institutions of higher learning offer courses in employer-labor relations and the labor movement.¹⁷

¹⁵ As an example, one of the oldest unions, the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, recently made a survey to determine the causes of unrest and dissatisfaction among its membership. Its report states among other things: "In our survey, we encountered much criticism of the International union because it has not taken into consideration the need of selling unionism to the membership, or the need of educating the local unions in regard to their functions as business organizations." (Report of study made by the special research committee, June 15, 1944.)

¹⁶ A 1941 *Fortune* poll which asked numerous questions about labor unions concluded: "About $\frac{2}{3}$ of the public is wholly unequipped to have any opinions about labor unions and only $\frac{1}{4}$ really know enough to be intelligent on the subject." Over 56 per cent of the persons interviewed in this poll did not know who the AFL president was and 76 per cent could not give the name of the CIO president. (*Fortune*, February, 1942, pp. 98-100.)

¹⁷ Significant recognition of this need was taken by the state of New York in 1944 when a law was enacted establishing a School of Industrial and Labor Relations of Cornell University. The purpose of the school, as outlined in the

This omission stems largely from the composition of the teaching staffs and administrative boards of the schools. Most elementary and high-school teachers are from professional, business, and farm-owner families and few have had any opportunity or need to learn about the problems of industrial wage earners through personal experience; only a handful have acquired a vicarious familiarity through the college classroom. Similarly, boards of education which determine the kinds of courses offered and textbooks used, are composed largely of men and women whose background and experience have given them little intimate awareness of the impact of economic forces on the great mass of industrial workers.

Over twenty-five years ago a committee appointed by the American Federation of Labor to investigate workers' education reported that boards of education "in an alarming number of communities" were unresponsive, even hostile, toward providing facilities for those who sought unhampered instruction on industrial and labor problems.¹⁸ This committee concluded, like the CIO at a later date, that special workers' schools should not be necessary and, at best, were only a stopgap; that it was the responsibility of the public schools to give the workers and citizens of tomorrow facts about the functions and activities of labor organizations. Some public schools are now recognizing this deficiency and are including studies on labor unions and labor problems in their regular curricula for high-school students; a few have established night courses where specialized training is provided for shop stewards and other union officials.¹⁹

act creating it, is the teaching of the history of industrial practices of employers and employees, the history and principles of sound industrial relations, the rights and obligations of employers and employees, the development of labor law, and all other phases of employer-employee relations tending to promote the public interest. The school is a part of the State Education Department, and as such is open to anyone who is interested in the general field of industrial relations, whether from the management, worker, or public angle.

¹⁸ American Federation of Labor 1919 Convention *Proceedings*, p. 135.

¹⁹ An example is the course for shop stewards now being given under the auspices of the office for Vocational Training for War Production Workers of the Philadelphia Board of Public Education. The course was developed in co-operation with labor and management and is "designed to aid the shop steward in fulfilling his responsibilities as a representative of the workers and his union, and to give him a better understanding of the factors underlying the problems with which he must deal."

During the past year several universities have initiated night courses on labor relations for union members, employers and the general public. The Catholic city colleges have been particularly active in such undertakings.

As with the general public, most editors and radio commentators are products of educational systems which have taught them little about the problems of workers and the unions to which they belong. Moreover, newspapers and broadcasting systems are business enterprises and are naturally psychologically attuned to employer attitudes, as well as economically dependent upon the goodwill of other business enterprises. While radio advertising is ostensibly for the purpose of publicizing commodities, in the ears of the listeners it also becomes goodwill propaganda for the company furnishing the program—the millions of radio listeners to a corporation-sponsored weekly symphony hour unconsciously grow to feel that the company's internal affairs and employee relations must be as happy as the radio programs are enjoyable!

In addition to the indirect means for building up goodwill through company advertising, business benefits from the public relations programs conducted by their trade associations and such organizations as the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce. Even though educational institutions and radio networks were equally willing to utilize the material made available by organized labor, neither the individual unions nor their affiliated bodies have sufficient funds at their disposal to undertake such comprehensive public relations programs as, for example, the National Industrial Information Committee of the NAM, which spends at least a million dollars a year on publicity programs extending into the schools, press, motion pictures and radio throughout the country.²⁰

Some unions, knowing they can never compete with the ambitious public relations activities conducted by industry, have assumed a defeatist "the public be damned" attitude,²¹ and carry on their activities

²⁰ This committee of the NAM has prepared electrical transcriptions which it provides free of cost to hundreds of radio stations while thousands of newspapers, especially small-town papers, use its Industrial Press Service, a weekly clip-sheet which includes news articles and cartoons. It also sponsors, in many communities, "face-to-face conferences between local businessmen and opinion molders" in such fields as education, church, agriculture, and women's groups. The committee has published a series of illustrated pamphlets adapted to classroom use which are distributed free of cost upon request in bulk quantities to schools and to libraries, women's clubs, ministers, etc.; it has also produced a number of motion-picture films which it loans without charge to schools, parent-teacher associations, and other social and educational organizations for the purpose of "supplementing and interpreting civic, economic and social studies."

²¹ "Workers' Education" by Mark Starr, *American Federationist*, June, 1943.

as though they were private affairs. They make no effort to explain their attitudes and actions to the public and are indifferent, even hostile, about answering any inquiries from reporters, students, or other interested persons who sincerely seek factual information. This attitude of indifference is not general throughout the labor movement, however, and especially during recent years many unions have taken steps to counteract misrepresentation and to supply inquirers with desired information about themselves. Many union leaders are showing an increased willingness to talk to groups of students, women's clubs, community forums and businessmen's clubs; some have published their financial and other reports in pamphlet form for free distribution; some are actively seeking to get their journals and literature on the shelves of school and public libraries.

The recent change in format of the American Federation of Labor monthly magazine, *The American Federationist*, and its placement on newsstands in the larger cities represents a desire to bring the Federation closer to the general public. For similar ends, the Labor League for Human Rights, the "relief arm" of the AFL, issues a clipsheet which features the social welfare and community activities of AFL unions. The Congress of Industrial Organizations has recently developed an active public relations program and now maintains a mailing list of some 60,000 names of teachers, clergymen,²² parent-teacher associations, libraries, etc., to whom it sends pamphlets from time to time for the purpose of achieving mass interest in CIO policy.

When issues of public importance are at stake, both the AFL and the CIO and some of the large unions insert full-page advertisements in the metropolitan city newspapers. While neither the AFL nor the CIO maintains public relations departments similar to those maintained by most large corporations, they have a few persons designated as public relations directors for certain areas, such as the South, where especially

²² The 1944 Pittsburgh Conference of National Religion & Labor Foundation, composed of Protestant, Catholic and Jewish leaders of the United States and Canada, recommended, among other measures, that "(1) Members of labor unions interview pastors and religious leaders to discover ways in which they may be of service in helping to interpret their mutual problems and needs; (2) members of the churches study the labor movement, and that such studies be offered as a course in the curriculum of adult education; (3) members of churches visit union headquarters, interview union leaders and attend labor union meetings, as a furtherance of the 'reconciliation' program of the Church." (*Information Service*, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, Vol. XXIII, No. 38.)

needed. In the main, however, they rely upon their regular field organizers to make such public contacts as they can along with their specific union duties, and their education and research departments for dealing with the daily press, preparing radio programs and printed material for public distribution.

Of great significance and potential value to labor is the recent action of four national networks to grant sustaining programs to the various unions. Granting of this free time came as an aftermath of several years' protest on the part of organized labor that radio commentators supported by commercial advertisers were making biased and inaccurate statements about unions and their members. Upon a number of occasions, unions offered to purchase time to answer these commentators but the networks' rules prevented the sale of time to organizations seeking to enlist membership. As a special service, and in recognition of the important place which organized labor now holds in our national life, the major radio networks are now providing time each week to the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations in order to give them an opportunity regularly to report on their activities and to explain their needs and desires to the public.

EDUCATION FOR POLITICAL ACTION ²³

Although the traditional policy of American labor has been not to align itself with any political party, organized labor has always been keenly aware of the fundamental fact that its well-being and even its survival is dependent upon governmental action—legislative, judicial, executive. Basing its course of political action on the principle of "reward your friends and punish your enemies," organized labor seeks to keep its members informed about the labor record of candidates for office and to urge them to vote for those who give the greatest evidence of being friendly to labor's interests. When federal and state legislation inimical to workers or unions is threatened, or when specific laws are desired, organized labor exercises its rights under a free democratic government to persuade legislators to act favorably to the interests of its members. Individual unions and the federated bodies conduct pub-

²³ The diverse opinions within the labor movement on the manner and extent of its participation in political affairs is discussed in Chap. II; the following is concerned with those activities of unions which are directed toward educating their members on how to vote.

licity campaigns for the purpose of bringing pressure on legislators through their constituents back home, and they send representatives to appear before committee hearings in the national and state capitols.

The regular union periodicals which reach the homes of all union members are naturally an effective means for conveying facts about proposed legislation and opinions on candidates for office. Most of the union journals devote considerable space to discussions of legislative and political affairs as they affect wage earners and organized labor generally, as well as the particular industries in which their members are employed.²⁴

During the election campaigns many of the union papers, in addition to general discussions of the broad issues at stake, publish each individual candidate's voting or other record on matters pertaining to wage earners and unions. Listings of the candidates are generally under such revealing headings as "voted right," "voted wrong," "absent or indifferent." While some publications go no further than to present the factual history of each candidate's public life, many include specific statements of endorsement or disapproval. For example, the railroad paper *Labor* publishes serial lists of all Congressional candidates who have been endorsed by the chiefs of the standard railroad labor organizations, their judgment being based primarily on the candidates' records with respect to railway legislation, and with studious disregard to political party considerations.

Scrupulously adhering to its nonpartisan policy, the *AFL Federationist* devotes equal space to discussions of the platforms and candidates of both the major parties. While the AFL publications comment or criticize actions of various congressmen from time to time and endorse or condemn individual candidates for Congress, the AFL official journal does not endorse any presidential candidates. A number of the publications of AFL International unions, however, frankly sponsor particular presidential candidates as well as other candidates for local and federal office.

²⁴ So far as legislation involving particular industries is concerned, there may be cleavages among the various unions just as there are among employers or the general public, depending upon how each is affected. For example, a union may join with the employers in a particular industry when seeking tariffs or other governmental protection. The United Mine Workers and the railroad brotherhoods have united with the employers in these industries in their opposition to the building of the St. Lawrence Seaway.

Unprecedented in labor history in this country was the educational campaign conducted by the Congress of Industrial Organizations through its political arm, the Political Action Committee, during the 1944 presidential campaign. Financed by direct contributions of \$10,000 to \$100,000 from affiliated unions during the primaries, and through individual member contributions (a "buck for Roosevelt") during the election campaign,²⁵ the Committee sought to arouse the interest of each member in order to get him to register and vote, and to use the organizing skills gained through his union experience to organize his community and coworkers for political action.

To assist union members and leaders, the Committee issued numerous bulletins of instructions, such as how to call and conduct neighborhood meetings, how to introduce and conduct oneself when "doorbell pushing." In its speakers' manuals and other pamphlets the facts and figures on political and economic issues were presented in a terse, vivid style which could be easily read and quoted.²⁶ Supplementing the personal activities of its members in each locality, the Committee conducted radio programs over national networks, issued clipsheets and cartoons for union and other interested papers, and distributed millions of posters and buttons.

Gratified with the results of its activities in the election campaign, the 1944 convention of the CIO decided to continue the PAC as a permanent agency for political education which "will seek the election of candidates who are supposed to be the friends of the common people, regardless of political party."

²⁵ The Connally-Smith Act, in addition to provisions concerning strikes, makes it unlawful for "any labor organization to make a contribution in connection with any election at which Presidential and Vice Presidential electors or a Senator or Representative in, or a delegate or resident Commissioner to Congress are to be voted for." (Section 9.) In other words, this law permits unions to make direct contributions during primaries but not for election campaigns.

²⁶ Commented *Time* magazine on these publications: "The pamphlets are far and wide the slickest political propaganda produced in the U.S. in a generation." (*Time*, July 24, 1944.)

CHAPTER XI

CO-OPERATIVE AND BENEFIT ACTIVITIES

WHILE the primary concern of labor unions is to bargain with employers in order to improve the shop conditions of their members and to make jobs more secure, unions have also been interested in other matters which affect the living standards and well-being of their members and families. Various unions have undertaken different types of programs from time to time, the particular activities and the vigor with which they were pursued being influenced by the economic situation of their members, the proclivities and abilities of their leaders, as well as the example of other unions.

High on the list of such activities have been health and insurance programs. Others have been directed toward furnishing members with recreational and credit facilities. The Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers unions have undertaken successful housing projects, and a number of unions participate in other forms of co-operative enterprises to furnish members with food and clothing at reduced cost. Some activities which were actively sponsored at one time have been discontinued because of disappearing need; others have been abandoned because of lack of success. Among the latter are several producers' co-operatives and banking enterprises.

CO-OPERATIVE ACTIVITIES

Producers' Co-operatives. When workers first began to organize, in the middle of the nineteenth century, many of them considered trade unions to be merely a first step on the road toward self-employment through co-operative or worker-controlled factories and other producing activities. The Knights of Labor was founded upon the ideal of a society composed of co-operative enterprises in which there would be no hired labor, but in which producing units would be owned and managed by

those engaged in them—industrial workers, farmers, clerks and technicians.

The failure of the Knights of Labor experiments and the conviction that such ambitions not only were futile but were diverting the energies of organized workers from more practical and near-at-hand achievements were major factors in the establishment of the American Federation of Labor. By the turn of the twentieth century the American labor movement had formally renounced the principle of an industrial society composed of self-governing or co-operative workshops. However, a number of unions upon particular occasions have taken over bankrupt and other businesses and managed them on a co-operative basis. As late as 1937 there were at least 27 such producers' co-operatives—chiefly small print shops and laundries and plants engaged in cigar, clothing and shoe making. All these had been taken over by unions for the practical and immediate purpose of providing jobs to members who were left stranded after private owners had gone bankrupt or had locked them out during a labor dispute.¹

Labor Banking. Years after most labor unions had abandoned any aspirations they might have had for widespread, co-operatively owned manufacturing enterprises, a number of them enthusiastically embarked on banking and other financial ventures. While there had been some discussion for a number of years at AFL and various union conventions concerning the question of labor-owned and operated banks, it was not until the antiunion campaigns following World War I that any such banks were actually established.

In 1920 the Association of Machinists took over a majority of the stock of a bank in Washington, D.C., and the Locomotive Engineers initiated their ambitious investment and banking program by founding a bank in Cleveland, Ohio.² Union after union followed, some by purchasing

¹ *Monthly Labor Review*, November, 1938. An outstanding experiment in union-managed production was that of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers which started a clothing plant in Milwaukee in 1928 to provide employment for members locked out by a company which had decided to go "open shop." This union-operated plant was engaged solely in production of clothing for Hart, Schaffner & Marx on a contract basis and thus had no responsibility for marketing its products. The enterprise operated successfully for over three years, provided steady work to more than 200 members. When the depression forced the Chicago firm to cancel further orders, early in 1932, the union was forced to give up the project.

² During the following six years the Locomotive Engineers owned and controlled 14 banks, a holding company, an investment company, 6 security

the controlling interest in already established banks and others by founding entirely new banks. In 1926, the peak of union banking activities, various International and local unions, state federations, and city centrals owned 36 banks with total resources of over \$126 million. A few years thereafter, most of them were liquidated: 14 before 1930 and 18 during the subsequent business depression. Currently, there are four labor banks in operation; two are owned by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, while one in Newark and another in Kansas City are jointly owned by several unions.³

The motives for embarking on these banking activities were varied: to provide a means for investing union funds, to pay higher interest rates to member depositors and make more generous loans to member borrowers than commercial banks were making, to protect the labor movement by withdrawing the funds of unions and their members from banks which were participating in antiunion campaigns, and to render financial assistance through loans to "fair" employers and others who were friendly toward organized labor.⁴

The reasons for their failure were equally varied: Selection of persons to run the banks who had had too limited banking experience; interference of union officials who served on the boards of directors; losses from character loans to members who frequently considered they had a right to obtain loans upon the asking; skepticism and indifference of rank-and-file members who refused to deposit their savings in their union banks. Also, a number of the unions were finding that their banking enterprises were causing disruption and factional disputes between unions: In order to protect their investments, some of the banks had faced the embarrassing situation of having to co-operate with and even take over nonunion businesses, thus finding themselves competing with concerns paying union wages.

While several labor banks continue to operate successfully, unions generally have concluded that their banking adventures were a mistake. A typical comment upon final liquidation was that of the Railroad

corporations, a realty and mortgage company, an insurance company, and several "thrift" companies, besides having an interest in a Wall Street bank and another in Florida. They also started a real estate development in Florida covering 50,000 acres, and including three hotels. All these enterprises had failed or been abandoned by 1930 at a great loss to the union and individual members.

³ *Monthly Labor Review*, December, 1929, and December, 1944.

⁴ For an appraisal of labor banks see *The Labor Bank Movement in the U.S.*, by the Industrial Relations Section of Princeton University, 1929.

Clerks: "We learned the lesson at not too great a cost, that the proper business of a labor union is to promote the welfare of working people through processes of collective bargaining."⁵

Consumers' Co-operatives. Although consumers' co-operatives in this country have never had as wide an appeal as they have had in Great Britain, Sweden and some other countries, the American labor movement has always endorsed the principle of such undertakings and some unions have been actively engaged in them. First among the reasons for such participation, of course, is the desire to make wages go further through the lower prices made possible through co-operative enterprises. Beyond this purely economic motive is the belief shared by all "co-operators" that the co-operative movement is a force for democracy and a salutary competitor to monopolies and big business.

While many union members belong to consumers' co-operatives and serve on their boards of directors, few co-operatives in this country are confined to union members. The predominant attitude of union leaders is that co-operatives should not be restricted to union members; that one of the important benefits to be derived from such activities is the opportunity they offer for union members to mix with other groups in a common endeavor to serve the entire community.

INSURANCE AND BENEFIT PROGRAMS

Many of the early trade unions established in the latter part of the nineteenth century were expressly organized for the purpose of providing various types of benefits for their members, as well as for collective bargaining purposes. In the absence of any governmental social insurance, or even any group insurance plans which later were provided by some private insurance companies, it was natural for workers to seek some arrangements which would provide a modicum of financial assistance against those inevitable contingencies which result in loss of wages and hardship to their families. Until the passage of social security legislation, union organizers frequently found that the benefit features of their unions were their best selling points when seeking to extend membership.

Organized labor actively participated in the promotion of federal

⁵ 1943 Convention Proceedings of the Brotherhood of Railway & Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express & Station Employees, p. 178.

and state pensions and unemployment insurance programs, and following the enactment of the Railroad Retirement Act and the Federal Social Security Act in 1935, labor has sought to have these acts liberalized and expanded to cover additional groups of workers and types of benefits. While actively sponsoring government programs, most of the unions which had benefit plans before the enactment of government social security are continuing their programs; also, a considerable number of unions are promoting other forms of benefit programs, more especially sickness and disability insurance, through collective bargaining with individual employers and employer associations.

Benefit Plans Provided by Collective Agreements. Many employers, prior to unionization of their plants, were carrying group life insurance policies which paid \$500 to \$1,000 to the beneficiaries of their deceased employees; a few companies also financed group health insurance or maintained mutual benefit associations jointly financed by the company and the employees. Following unionization, many of these programs were incorporated in the contractual arrangements between the employers and unions concerned, with the unions taking an active part in their administration.

During recent years many new insurance and benefit plans have been established as a result of collective bargaining. Most significant have been the sickness and nonoccupational accident insurance programs—hazards which at present are not covered by government social security. The Textile Workers, United Electrical Workers, Furniture Workers, Upholsterers, Jewelry Workers, Fur and Leather Workers, Marine and Shipbuilding, and both men's and women's clothing unions have been especially active in bargaining with employers for sickness and accident insurance. Other union members, for example, the New York hotel workers, are benefiting from plans inaugurated as a result of arbitrators' awards.

With the exception of those in the clothing industries, most of the benefit programs are underwritten by private insurance companies. A recently established company, the Trade Union Accident and Health Association of America, has trade union officials on its Board of Directors and works directly with the unions in planning and promoting benefit programs and issuing group policies.

A large majority of the programs established through collective bargaining are financed entirely by employer contributions, which usually amount to 2 or 3 per cent of the pay roll. Some plans, however, provide

for regular employee contributions, while others require employee contributions only when necessary to make up balances not covered by the agreed upon contributions from the employers. Regardless of method of financing, all plans installed as a result of collective bargaining are jointly administered by the employer and the union. In some cases the union assumes major responsibility for the day-to-day operation of the program, with the company participating in the formulation of general policies and examination of records.

The benefits received under the various policies are not uniform, but typically they provide sickness and accident (nonoccupational, not covered by workmen's compensation) benefits amounting to 60 per cent of the employee's average pay for a maximum period of 26 weeks in any year, after a waiting period of 7 days in case of sickness; hospitalization for a maximum of 20 to 30 days; surgical costs up to \$150 to \$175 for any one operation; fixed sums for loss of eye, foot, etc.; weekly maternity benefits and hospital expenses similar in amount to sick benefits but for shorter periods; some also include doctors' bills covering a maximum number of home and office visits, most commonly 30 to 50 per disability.

Benefit Programs in Clothing Industry. The health and benefit programs of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers are unique both in their extent of coverage and their methods of administration. Through employer negotiations both unions have developed plans which cover practically all their members. In both cases the programs are financed by the employers on a percentage of payroll basis, but the administration of the programs is largely in the hands of the unions. Both plans are outgrowths of a number of years' experimentation on a limited scale by a few of their local organizations.

In 1913 the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union established a health center in New York City⁶ and thirty years later a similar center in Philadelphia. These centers provide medical care for members and their families and administer the sick benefit plans of the various locals in these cities. The New York Center originally was financed from patients' fees, fees from the sickness insurance funds, and subsidies from the International's treasury. The sick benefit plans

⁶ For a report on the New York Health Center see "Health Program of Garment Workers" by Dr. Leo Price, *Monthly Labor Review*, October, 1939. Also *Union Health Center*, 1943 Annual Report, 275 Seventh Avenue, New York.

were financed entirely by the members, a majority of the locals charging \$4.20 per year. During the early years, cash benefits were paid only in cases of tuberculosis, which was particularly prevalent among garment workers; later benefits were paid to others disabled from acute illnesses.

Financing of these benefit plans and health centers was materially altered in 1943 when the ILGW greatly expanded its welfare program. During the past several years the union has negotiated benefit arrangements with most of the employers in the industry, which include sickness, vacation and retirement provisions. With few exceptions, these plans are financed entirely by employer contributions, amounting variously from 1 per cent to 7½ per cent of gross payrolls. (Where the higher rates exist, substantial proportions of the contributions are used for vacation payments and retirement programs.) While the general rules and regulations are decided by employer-union committees, the administration of most of these programs is left entirely to the union, which determines eligibility and amount of benefits.

The insurance program of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers was established in 1943 as an outgrowth of negotiations begun several years previously with the Men's and Boys' Clothing Manufacturers Association. The insurance program covers health, accident and life insurance and is financed entirely from employers' contributions of 2 per cent of their payrolls. To administer the program, the Amalgamated Life Insurance Company was formed with a Board of Directors composed of employer and union representatives and outside counsel. Currently the group policies issued by the Amalgamated grant \$500 to beneficiaries of union members upon death, and health and accident indemnity of \$8 to \$10 a week to women and \$12 to men for an aggregate of 15 weeks in any consecutive 12 months.

Union-Financed Benefit Activities. Although death allotments are the only form of benefit plan undertaken by most unions, a substantial number also maintain sickness, disability and old-age pension programs. Following the enactment of the Federal Social Security and the Railroad Retirement acts in 1935, a number of the unions have modified their benefit programs by discontinuing some features and enlarging others. Most commonly the unions have abandoned their formal plans for unemployment and old-age pensions and directed their attention more to group life insurance and health activities. Benefit and insurance activities of the Internationals are financed either through the per

capita taxes or by special assessments levied directly on the membership. If it is a continuing program, the costs are usually defrayed from per capita taxes although special assessments may be levied from time to time as additional funds are needed. (See p. 120 ff.)

Unions which maintain costly benefit programs usually specify in their constitutions the exact portion of the per capita tax that is to be used for benefit purposes and keep these funds separate from their general administration funds. The benefit programs of several unions cover only a portion of their members, usually the skilled craftsmen. In such unions, of course, the dues paid by the beneficial members are much higher than those paid by nonbeneficial members. Benefit activities of local unions are financed primarily through membership dues and assessments although many locals raise additional money through entertainments, etc.

A popular form of union benefit activity is the death allotment made directly from the union treasury. Most commonly this is a lump sum payment of \$100 or \$200 which is primarily intended for burial expenses. In some cases the allotments are more generous, and a few unions provide additional allotments of several hundred dollars for the immediate assistance of the dependents of deceased members. Instead of direct death allotments, or supplementary to them, a number of unions provide group insurance, usually covering life and permanent disability. Many of these policies are written by the Union Labor Life Insurance Company which was established in 1925 by the American Federation of Labor. Exact figures are unavailable but it is probable that the various unions expend at least \$15 million a year for death benefits and group life insurance.

Before the passage of the federal social security legislation, a number of unions maintained more or less elaborate old-age and disability benefit programs and eight unions also built and continue to maintain homes for their aged and disabled members.⁷ Although a number of the old-age benefit programs have been discontinued during recent years,

⁷ The Railroad Employees' Home at Highland Park near Chicago is operated by 3 railroad brotherhoods and has a capacity of 135. The Railroad Conductors' Union maintains its own Home near Savannah, Georgia. The Typographical Union has a combined home, hospital and sanatorium valued at \$3 million near Colorado Springs which accommodates 265. The Printing Pressmen's combined Home, Tuberculosis Sanatorium and Trade School which is located on an 1,800-acre plot in northeastern Tennessee has 240 rooms for their aged and sick. The Carpenters' Home, built at a cost of \$1,500,000, is located on a 2,000 acre tract near Lakeland, Florida and accommodates 400 persons.

at least six Internationals maintain formal plans covering all or a considerable portion of their members.⁸ Unions whose plans cover particular groups of members only, usually refer to them as "beneficial" or "Class A" members. A number of other unions maintain special benefit funds from which limited sums are allotted from time to time in individual cases approved by the General Executive Board.

Beneficial members of the Carpenters' Union who have had thirty years' continuous membership in the Brotherhood, are 65 years of age and unable to provide for themselves, may go either to the Carpenters' Home or receive a monthly pension not to exceed \$15 a month. In 1941 the Carpenters' Union extended monthly benefits to about 11,000 members amounting to over \$500,000. The Bricklayers' Old Age Relief System provides payments of around \$6.50 a week to members of 20 or more years' standing who have reached the age of 65. Almost 2,000 members are receiving such payments which in total amount to over \$620,000 a year. Members of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' Union who are engaged in structural work are covered by a pension program which pays from \$15 to \$25 a month depending upon the funds available in any month. At present about 400 members who have reached 65 years of age and were active members for at least 25 years are receiving weekly benefits.

Since 1928 the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers has maintained a pension program for its Class A members which pays \$42 a month to retired members over 65 years of age with at least 20 years' standing with the union. About 1,200 members receive such payments which total over \$600,000 a year. One of this union's locals, Local #3 in New York, maintains a supplementary plan which pays a monthly pension of \$50 to its disabled and retired members between the ages of 60 and 65.

The Pressmen's Union pays a maximum of \$7 a week to its incapacitated members who have been in good standing for at least 20 years and who do not wish to enter the Pressmen's Home. Currently about 1,400 persons are receiving weekly benefits which total around \$200,000 a year. Various locals of the Pressmen's Union also maintain old-age benefit programs and their total payments amount to over \$100,000 a year.

⁸ The details of these benefit plans were obtained in large part from the 1942 Convention Proceedings of the International Photo-Engravers' Union and later convention proceedings of the various unions.

TABLE IV. EXPENDITURES FOR BENEFIT SERVICES BY AFL UNIONS AND RAILROAD BROTHERHOODS¹
(In Thousands of Dollars)

Year	No. Unions Reporting	Death	Sick	Unemployment ²	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total
1928	85	\$16,624	\$2,378	\$ 665	\$4,713	\$3,286	\$5,149	\$32,814
1929	84	17,598	2,832	277	4,883	2,707	3,945	32,242
1930	92	18,527	3,650	3,311	5,911	3,234	2,065	36,698
1931	90	17,132	2,221	9,147	6,091	3,671	1,700	39,962
1932	93	17,674	2,308	19,971	6,148	4,007	1,340	51,448
1933	88	14,780	1,665	13,784	4,679	4,838	946	40,692
1934	87	15,011	1,023	4,468	3,913	3,176	1,410	28,841
1935	82	12,650	1,047	3,356	3,685	3,379	1,991	26,109
1936	71	12,822	1,273	10,990 ³	4,785	2,598	1,647	34,114
1937	73	13,391	2,278	1,671	4,600	2,624	2,547	27,111
1938	69	13,126	1,307	2,583	5,334	1,641	1,596	25,586
1939	71	12,929	1,520	1,816	2,073	1,766	1,592	21,695
1940	69	13,090	1,553	2,365	1,713	1,363	3,045	23,130
1941	68	11,896	2,345	1,535	1,674	649	2,262	20,362 ⁴
1942	67	13,801	2,789	1,049	1,707	869	2,751	22,966
1943	61	8,762	1,657	413	5,825 ⁵	153	2,110	18,920

¹Data are from AFL Convention Proceedings and include only the amounts reported by the International unions in answer to the AFL annual questionnaires. A varying number of unions failed to report each year. Among those reporting, some included the sums paid by their locals as well as by the International office. Many, however, did not include the sums paid out by their local organizations although their locals also had benefit programs. One report of the AFL states that this "total would probably be doubled if the amounts paid by all the locals were known".

²Includes sums paid by the Photo-Engravers' local for old-age pensions and by the Musicians' Union for sick benefits.

³The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers reported \$9 million.

⁴Actual expenditures for this year probably did not decrease. Several unions which pay relatively large amounts failed to report.

⁵Over 4 million reported by Typographical Union which had readjusted with AFL after four years' separation.

The Typographical Union maintains a combined old-age and disability plan which pays \$10 a week to members over 60 years of age with at least 25 years' standing who are not able to secure sustaining employment, and totally incapacitated members of 20 years' standing who are not able to enter the Printers' Home. In 1943 almost 6,700 members were receiving pension allotments at an annual cost of almost \$3½ million, in addition to the 430 members residing at the Home. The cost per resident at the Home is estimated to be around \$80 per month.

Probably the most elaborate sick and disability program is that of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen. Through its Insurance Department it provides sickness, accident, disability and death benefits, as well as medical care for tubercular members. Expenditures for these benefits and medical services amount to over \$4,500,000 a year. A few other International unions pay flat sums of money to members who become totally incapacitated, the amount varying with the length of time the beneficiary has been a member of the union. Most generally there is no fixed plan whereby members automatically receive such allowances; the few unions which provide disability allotments usually authorize their officers to consider each case on its merits and to grant allowances at their discretion.

In addition to the benefit activities financed and administered by the International offices are the sick and unemployment benefit programs conducted by a number of local unions. For example, in 1942 the locals of the Photo-Engravers' Union paid unemployment and old-age benefits to 2,700 members amounting to over \$872,000 and sick benefits to 700 members at a cost of \$41,000. Various locals of the Street Railway Association expend an average of \$100,000 a year on sick and disability benefits. The disability and sick benefit programs of the various locals of the Association of Machinists involve annual outlays averaging around a quarter of a million dollars.

CHAPTER XII

BARGAINING WITH EMPLOYERS

THE primary purpose of labor unions is to negotiate with employers for the purpose of establishing the terms and conditions under which their members shall be employed. Under normal collective bargaining processes, the terms finally negotiated are incorporated in written agreements and signed by the employer and union representatives. Such agreements are enforceable in the courts just as any other contracts. While no law requires employers and employees to agree on any particular terms,¹ once they have reached an understanding the union may require the employer to sign a written agreement.²

A mutual agreement entered into by an employer and a union, like other contracts, is an expression of the various rights, duties and privileges of those covered by the agreement. On the employee side, the contracting party is the union which a majority of the employees have chosen to represent them although the terms of the agreement cover both the minority nonmembers (if such exist) as well as the union members.³ Some agreements are negotiated for a definite period of time, most commonly for one year, while others remain in effect in-

¹ Except during emergency periods, such as wartime, when the government may determine wage rates and other terms of employment. Also, of course, employer-union agreements must always conform to existing federal and state minimum wage, safety and hour laws.

² This legal right was affirmed by the Supreme Court in the case of *H. J. Heinz v. NLRB* (#73, Jan. 6, 1941) when the court maintained that the signed written agreement was the final step in the bargaining process and therefore a requirement under the NLRA after the terms of an agreement have been mutually agreed upon.

³ Majority representation is a basic principle of the NLRA, similar state acts and the Railway Labor Act. Section 9 (a) NLRA specifies: "Representatives designated or selected for the purpose of collective bargaining by the majority of the employees in a unit appropriate for such purposes shall be the *exclusive* representative of *all* the employees in such a unit for purposes of collective bargaining. . . ." (Author's italics.)

definitely, subject to renegotiation upon thirty or sixty days' notice by either party.

The manner in which agreements are negotiated, the variety of subjects covered, and their substantive contents, vary greatly between industries and within any industry, for the process and results of collective bargaining are necessarily influenced by many factors—general economic conditions, as well as the situation of a particular employer, his attitude toward the union and collective bargaining, the strength of the union and the ability of the union's negotiators, and the desires and determination of the union members.

EXTENT OF COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

The expansion of collective bargaining roughly parallels the growth of unions themselves although the actual number of persons covered by terms of collective agreements is not identical with union membership in three major respects: (1) There are scattered union members working for employers with whom agreements have not yet been negotiated although, presumably, agreements will be negotiated whenever a majority of the employees join the union. (2) As indicated above, agreements cover all employees within the bargaining unit and only under closed- and union-shop agreements, where all employees are required to belong to the union, would agreement coverage be identical with union membership. In other plants agreement coverage would be more extensive than union membership. (3) There are thousands of government employees—federal, state and municipal, including schoolteachers—who are union members but are not working under the usual type of bilateral agreement existing in private industry.⁴

Agreement Coverage. Some 14 $\frac{1}{3}$ million workers, or approximately 50 per cent of all employees in private industry in 1944, were working

⁴There is considerable difference of opinion about the legality of government agencies entering into contractual arrangements with their employees. Most generally, but not always, a distinction is drawn between government in its sovereign capacity and government acting in a proprietary capacity, or between civil service employees and noncivil service workers. The California Court recently ruled (*Nutter, et al. v. City of Santa Monica*) that the city's "operation of buses is not a municipal affair but an enterprise" and the city therefore must bargain with the union for city-owned transportation employees. The Tennessee Valley Authority has always followed the practice of negotiating with its construction employees' unions, and several cities and other governmental units have negotiated agreements with unions.

under the terms of union agreements.⁵ Manufacturing wage earners as a whole were about 65 per cent covered by union agreement, but in such industries as aluminum fabrication, automobiles and airframe, men's clothing, nonferrous-metal smelting and refining, shipbuilding, and basic steel over 90 per cent were under agreement. Over 95 per cent of the coal miners, longshoremen, and workers on railroads, including clerical and supervisory personnel, and over 80 per cent of the workers in the construction, maritime, local bus and street railway, trucking, and telegraph industries were employed under the terms of union agreements.

TABLE V. EXTENT OF COLLECTIVE BARGAINING IN VARIOUS INDUSTRIES, IN 1944

Almost all employees are covered by union agreements:

<i>Manufacturing</i>	<i>Nonmanufacturing</i>
Aluminum fabricating	Actors and musicians
Automobiles and parts	Airline pilots and mechanics
Breweries	Coal mining
Carpets and rugs	Longshoring
Clothing, men's	Motion-picture production
Furs and fur garments	Railroads—freight and passenger, including shops and clerical
Glass—flat, pressed and blown	Telegraph service and maintenance
Nonferrous metals—smelting, refining	
Rubber products	
Shipbuilding	
Steel, blast furnaces and rolling mills	

Large proportion of employees are covered by union agreements:

<i>Manufacturing</i>	<i>Nonmanufacturing</i>
Agricultural machinery	Bus and streetcar, local
Aircraft and parts	Construction
Cement	Maritime
Clocks and watches	Metal Mining
Clothing, women's	Radio technicians
Coke and byproducts	Theaters—stage hands, and motion-picture operators
Electrical machinery, equipment and appliances	Trucking, local and intercity
Glass containers	
Leather tanning	
Machinery, and machine tools	
Meat packing	
Millinery and hats	
Newspaper printing and publishing	
Nonferrous metals—alloying, rolling, drawing, except aluminum	

⁵ *Monthly Labor Review*, April, 1945.

TABLE V.—*Continued**Manufacturing**Nonmanufacturing*

Paper and pulp
Rayon yarn
Sugar, beet and cane
Tobacco products

About half the employees are covered by union agreements:

*Manufacturing**Nonmanufacturing*

Baking
Book and job printing and publishing
Flour and other grain products
Furniture
Gloves—leather, cloth, and knit
Hosiery
Jewelry and silverware
Leather products
Lumber
Petroleum refining
Pottery, including chinaware
Railroad equipment
Shoes, cut stock, and findings
Steel products
Stone, concrete, gypsum and plaster products
Woolen and worsted textiles

Bus lines, intercity
Telephone service and maintenance

Moderate proportion of employees are covered by union agreements:

*Manufacturing**Nonmanufacturing*

Beverages, nonalcoholic
Canning and preserving foods
Chemicals
Clay products, structural
Confectionery products
Cotton textiles
Dairy products
Dyeing and finishing textiles
Paper products
Silk and rayon textiles
Toys, sporting and athletic goods

Barbershops
Building servicing and maintenance
Cleaning and dyeing
Crude petroleum and natural gas
Fishing
Hotels and restaurants
Laundries
Light and power
Newspaper offices
Nonmetallic mining and quarrying
Taxicabs

Very few employees are covered by union agreements:

*Manufacturing**Nonmanufacturing*

Agriculture
Beauty shops
Clerical, technical and professional employees, excluding transportation, communication, theaters and newspapers
Domestic service
Retail and wholesale trade

Collective bargaining agreements covered nearly 25 per cent of the workers in service occupations other than domestic work, and about 20 per cent of the clerical, technical and professional workers in private industries. In transportation over half the clerical, technical and professional workers were under agreement, largely because of the high proportion of railroad workers covered. Practically all professional actors and musicians were employed under union agreements. On the other hand, agreements covered only a little over 13 per cent of the clerical and professional workers in manufacturing and financial establishments and wholesale and retail trade.

THE BARGAINING UNIT⁶

A large majority of the agreements now in effect were negotiated by individual employers and local unions to cover all, or a particular group (craft), of the employees within a plant, although a substantial number were negotiated through employers' associations which include as members all the employers in a given industry within the geographic or competitive area. While an increasing number of agreements in the mass production industries cover all the scattered plants of a large corporation, there are only a few agreements now in effect which cover entire industries or trades.

The exact number of union agreements now in effect is not known, but it probably exceeds 50,000. In addition there are numerous wage listings and minor working rules which are intended to supplement master agreements already negotiated for a wide area.

Factors Affecting the Size of the Bargaining Unit. The policy of a union and the employers in any industry with respect to the bargaining unit may vary from time to time and from area to area. Among the factors which affect a union's policy regarding bargaining with an individual employer or on a wider basis are the strength of the union, the organization, if any, among the employers, the number of employers and the degree of centralized control in the industry, the size of the establishments and their proximity to each other, and the similarity of the products and of the operations performed.

The willingness or reluctance of the employers to bargain collectively

⁶ Bulletin 686, *Union Agreement Provisions*, published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.

on a wide basis depends largely upon their competitive situation and their feeling about the permanence of the union. If labor costs are an important factor in selling costs, it is to the interest of the employers already under agreement to have the entire competitive market under the same or similar agreements. During periods of national emergency, such as the present war, the federal government may encourage collective bargaining on a wide basis in order to standardize wages and working conditions and thus reduce labor turnover through eliminating competitive wage bidding for workers.

Bargaining with Individual Employers. Most of the agreements now in effect are made in the name of a single company or branch plant of a large corporation and the local union to which the employees belong. If a local union includes members who work for different companies, the agreement will be signed by the union on behalf of the members employed by the particular company. If all the employees in a plant belong to a single local union, one agreement results. If, however, the employees are organized into separate unions according to craft or occupation, each union may either sign a separate agreement with the employer or jointly negotiate and sign a single agreement. Joint bargaining on the part of craft unions may strengthen the bargaining power of the individual crafts and, from the viewpoint of the employer, may eliminate the necessity for extended negotiations with several unions, each one of which represents only a part of his employees.

In the case of large corporations with a number of plants, the various local unions may sign jointly with the central office of the corporation. In this way, a single agreement may cover plants in widely separated geographical areas. Even when each local union negotiates separately with each plant management, the substance of the various agreements for all the plants of the corporation may be similar. In the case of multi-plant corporation and industry-wide agreements, the National office of the union may take a prominent part in the negotiations.

An agreement with a large corporation may cover all the plants of the corporation or only those plants in which the union represents a majority of the employees. If all the plants are not under the agreement, there may be an additional proviso that the agreement be extended to cover any plant in which the union may establish its majority status by an election conducted by the National Labor Relations Board or otherwise. Generally the corporation-wide agreement establishes the relationships of the parties, general wage levels, and the machinery and procedure

for further negotiations. Many subjects, including individual wage rates, are then negotiated locally between the various plant managements and the local unions.

Industry-Wide Bargaining. There are only a few instances of industry-wide collective bargaining in this country. A necessary corollary to such bargaining is a wide degree of organization among both employers and employees throughout the industry. Until recently few industries were widely unionized and in only a few industries were most or all the employers members of employers' associations. As a rule, the unions work toward the extension of the collective agreement to as wide a section of the industry as possible, and in some cases the unions and the employers' associations have jointly directed their efforts toward bringing unorganized firms within the scope of collective agreements.

The employers' associations with which unions negotiate are usually not the regularly established trade associations which deal more with marketing, public relations and style problems. When a number of companies within an area or industry have signed agreements, a frequent development is the formation of an employers' association to represent the unionized firms within that area and industry in their dealings with their organized employees. Such has been the development of collective bargaining relations in the various branches of the clothing industry in the major producing centers.

When an agreement is entered into by an association of employers on behalf of its members, it generally specifies that the terms agreed upon are applicable to all the association's members. Some agreements, however, provide that terms are binding only upon the members who ratify it or who authorize the association to enter into such an agreement. There may be a requirement that the union shall be furnished a copy of the authorization or of the names of the companies ratifying the agreement, in order that the union may know which employers are bound by its terms. Resignation, suspension or expulsion from the association usually does not relieve an employer from his obligation to abide by the agreement. According to a few agreements, however, members who are suspended or expelled are no longer bound by the association agreement and separate agreements must be negotiated with them. In a few agreements in the New York City women's clothing industry, and in scattered instances elsewhere, the employers' associa-

tion is required to secure the consent of the union before new companies are admitted to membership.

In anthracite mining a single agreement is signed to cover all mines, and in recent years what approximates industry-wide bargaining also has existed in bituminous-coal mining. With some interruptions, the United Mine Workers of America has maintained uniform working conditions in a major part of the bituminous-coal industry by signing separate agreements which expire on the same date. Once the terms for the most important producing areas have been agreed upon, the other districts have proceeded to sign agreements with virtually identical general terms, but with specific wage rates that are adapted to local conditions.

In the steel industry, the initial agreement negotiated with the Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corporation set the pattern for a large part of the basic iron and steel industry. Uniformity throughout the basic steel industry was furthered in 1944 when disputes over the terms of new agreements were referred to the National War Labor Board and the board made a general award covering the entire industry.

The traditional bargaining unit in railroad transportation is the individual railroad system and the workers are organized on the basis of craft. Generally, each of the operating crafts (trainmen, engineers, etc.) negotiates a separate agreement with the various systems while the maintenance employees ("shop crafts") negotiate joint agreements with each system. Although the regular working agreements continue to be signed by each railroad system, major questions of wage increases and decreases, vacations and other general matters are negotiated on a national scale through the Association of American Railroads, for the railroad companies, and the Railway Labor Executives Association, which is composed of the presidents of twenty unions of railroad workers.

Since the early years of this century there have been annual negotiations between the United States Potters' Association, representing most of the pottery industry, and the Brotherhood of Operative Potters. The National Association of Pressed and Blown Glassware has been meeting with the Flint Glass Workers Union for a similar period, as have the glass-bottle manufacturers—though not organized into a formal association—with the Bottle Blowers union. With the exception of the two largest producing companies, the flat-glass manufacturers are organized into the Fourcalt Manufacturers' Association which

deals with the Glass, Ceramic & Silica Sand Workers on a unified basis.

Among the few other instances of industry-wide dealing are the Wall Paper Institute and the United Wall Paper Craftsmen covering wallpaper printing; the National Automatic Sprinkler Association and the Association of Journeymen Plumbers and Steamfitters, covering sprinkler fitting; the Manufacturers' Protective and Development Association and the Molders' Union of North America, covering stove molding and hot-water castings; and the Wire Cloth Manufacturers' Association with the American Wire Weavers' Protective Association. Working conditions in the manufacture and installation of elevators are largely regulated by national conferences between the National Elevator Manufacturing Industry and the Union of Elevator Constructors, although wage rates are negotiated locally.

Bargaining for Geographic Areas. To an increasing extent agreements are being negotiated with all or most employers in a given industry within a metropolitan or larger area. In the building, service and retail trades the tendency is to have city-wide agreements; in clothing manufacturing and motor and water transportation the bargaining is usually done on a wider regional basis. Area bargaining may become more prevalent in the future as a result of the war wage stabilization program which tends to equalize wage rates and other terms for similar occupations and plants within a given region.

In the hosiery industry a bargaining relationship of several years' standing exists between the Full-Fashioned Hosiery Manufacturers and the Federation of Hosiery Workers. The employers' association, originally covering only Philadelphia mills, now covers a major part of the northern section of full-fashioned hosiery manufacture. In the textile industry there are association agreements between the Textile Worker's Union and the silk and rayon mills in the Paterson area. A joint arrangement of longer standing exists in the dyeing and finishing of textiles in nonintegrated mills.

Maritime workers frequently deal with employers' associations of shipping lines and dock employers. Such bargaining generally is coast-wide on the Pacific Coast and port-wide on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts. For intercity trucking, the Teamsters' Union usually negotiates with employers' associations whose operations cover several states; one of the largest is the Midwest Agreement which covers over-the-road hauling in twelve north central states.

The pulp and paper industry, though dealing elsewhere on the basis of individual companies, in the Pacific Northwest is combined into the Pacific Coast Association of Pulp and Paper Manufacturers, which deals with the two paper unions jointly. The dominant method of bargaining in the organized section of the lumber industry is through employers' associations within a producing area.

Outstanding examples of stable bargaining relationships over a long period of time between city-wide employers' associations and unions are found in the needle trades. In the men's and women's clothing, men's hats and millinery, and fur industries the earliest efforts of unions to organize were accompanied by efforts to encourage the employers within the producing area to combine into associations. Bargaining has become established in these industries with highly developed industrial relations machinery within each of the metropolitan areas which are important as producing centers. These unions and employers' associations customarily make use of permanent impartial chairmen to administer the agreements. In addition, joint trade boards, stabilization commissions, and other similar union-management bodies are frequently established to deal with particular problems that arise from time to time. The employers within a given city are usually organized into more than one association within each of the garment industries. The basis of distinction is both the price lines of the product and the classification of employers—that is, jobbers, contractors, inside manufacturers.

In many other industries and trades characterized by numerous small establishments within a city, collective bargaining has been conducted with associations of employers within the city. In many cases the associations are formal organizations in which the association officers have the power to bind all members to the agreed terms of employment. In other cases the employers may unite informally and perhaps only for the duration of the bargaining conferences. In many instances the lack of a continuing employers' association makes no difference in the actual negotiation of the agreement, but complicates considerably the enforcement of the agreement. Some industries in which the predominant method of dealing is with city-wide associations are brewing, retail trade, baking, printing and publishing, restaurants, local trucking, barbershops.

The Building Trades. More city-wide association bargaining is found in building construction than in any other single industry. Almost half the building trades agreements are negotiated by permanent asso-

ciations of contractors and individual unions. Usually, after the agreement between the union and the association has been consummated, non-association contractors are offered agreements containing identical terms, with the exception that some of the joint machinery for settling disputes between the union and association members, of necessity, is modified. In a few instances, advantages are given to association members, such as a provision that they shall have preference in obtaining union workmen. However, in a number of cases, nonmembers of the contractors' association are required either to join the association before signing the agreement or else to pay the association, or the joint board of the association and the union, an amount of money equivalent to the association membership fee.

A number of building trades agreements are negotiated by the individual unions with temporary associations of contractors through joint committees appointed for that purpose. Under such circumstances the accepted terms are incorporated either in a single agreement which each employer signs or in separate identical agreements signed with each employer.

Where there is neither a permanent nor a temporary association of employers, the individual building trades local, often after obtaining tacit acceptance from some of the leading contractors, prepares a contract that is automatically accepted by each unionized firm in the locality. Frequently, a regular agreement, including all the usual provisions, is not made. Instead, the employers either sign a memorandum or orally give affirmation to pay a specified wage and abide by the working rules of the union.

"Standard" Agreements and Union Labels. In the absence of association bargaining, unions often accomplish standardization of wages and working conditions on an industry-wide or market-wide basis by negotiating nearly identical agreements with individual employers. Ordinarily, the individual employers with whom such agreements are negotiated are confined to an industry or trade within a metropolitan area. This is true not only in the retail and service industries but, in some centers, with manufacturers whose products flow into interstate markets.

A degree of uniformity is sometimes effected by having the International union office exercise control over local agreements, such as requiring its approval of local agreements, issuing standard agreements, or union-label and "shop-card" agreements. Generally, such provisions

as those dealing with apprentices, arbitration and membership status are standardized and enforced on an industry- or trade-wide scale more often than are provisions regarding wage rates, hours and working conditions.

The common practice in regard to approval of local agreements is a requirement in the union constitution that agreements shall not be considered finally ratified until approved by the International office. As an incentive toward standardization, some unions make available to their locals printed forms of agreements to be negotiated with local employers. These forms, or "standard" agreements, contain the minimum requirements for agreements which have been adopted through convention action (usually appearing in the constitution and by-laws) and have blank spaces where locally negotiated wage rates, hours and working conditions may be inserted.

Similarly, the Internationals often issue standard union-label agreements which set forth the minimum terms under which employers may use the label. Supplemental agreements which establish the local wage rates and working conditions are negotiated. Since the use of the union label is strictly under the control of the International, a measure of uniformity may be achieved among employers who sign the label agreement.

Local unions in some retail and service trades often secure standardization throughout the city through the use of the union-shop card. To secure a shop card the employer agrees to observe the minimum standards of the International and, in addition, the local's wage rates, hours and working rules. Changes in local working conditions are negotiated in joint conferences between the locals and the employers. In the absence of an employers' association a local may adopt a change by a vote of the membership and merely advise the employers of the change. The shop-card and union employees may then be withdrawn from employers who do not conform to the new rules.

THE BARGAINING PROCESS

Union Machinery. The effectiveness of a union in negotiating agreements depends considerably on the composition and experience of its bargaining committees. Union negotiations usually are conducted by officers of a local union or of a joint board or district council, although the International representatives may be consulted for advice prior to

or during the negotiations, or they may participate directly in the bargaining, especially with the larger employers. The International representatives generally have major responsibility in regional or industry-wide negotiations or in bargaining with a large corporation for an agreement covering many plants.

A union will choose its strongest leaders for the task of negotiating either a new agreement or a renewal. Ordinarily, these leaders are the president and other elected officers, although other union representatives may be added to the negotiating committee or a special committee may be selected. If the union employs a business agent, he usually is a member of the committee and may play a primary role in negotiations.

There are several ways in which the membership of a union may exercise control over negotiations: first, the members of the negotiating committee are elected or are appointed by officers who are themselves elected by the membership; second, the demands to be made upon the employer may be submitted for approval to the membership prior to the negotiations; third, the tentative agreement reached with the employer may be submitted to the membership for ratification, and the members of the negotiating committee may be required to defend the results of their bargaining and explain why any compromises were made.

When the bargaining is with an employers' association or with a large corporation and involves a number of local unions, it is common for each local to recommend the terms it desires to be included in the agreement to a joint conference of representatives from all the locals. This conference, in consultation with the International officers, decides the exact nature of the demands to be made and may elect a negotiating committee. Any agreement reached with the employer is then submitted to the local unions for ratification.

Employer Machinery. Negotiating machinery on the employer side depends largely on the size of the company and whether or not the employer is a member of an employers' association. A small owner-employer, not a member of an association, will usually bargain directly with union representatives, although he may enlist the aid or advice of his lawyer.

In situations where there are many small employers within a producing area, an employers' association may function as the bargaining agent for the member employers. Negotiations may be conducted by

the secretary and the executive officer of the association or a special committee of member employers may be appointed. After the agreement has been drafted it may be signed by the executive officer or negotiating committee for the association or each employer member may affix his signature.

In large companies the negotiating process depends upon the corporate structure. In some instances the plant manager may negotiate final terms, frequently with the aid of the industrial relations director. In other cases when the agreement is negotiated by the branch manager, it does not become final until it is approved by the corporation's central office. Elsewhere, the central office negotiates directly with the union, one agreement to apply uniformly over all its plants or different agreements for its various plants. The latter, however, is infrequent unless the plants are engaged in different types of work or the employees belong to different unions.

Outside Aid. Either or both parties may seek outside help in reaching an agreement, especially if there is a stalemate in the direct negotiations and a work stoppage is threatened or has taken place. Employers, and to a less extent unions, may employ lawyers to assist them in drawing up their agreements although many prefer not to emphasize the legalistic approach to agreement negotiations. This can be avoided, of course, if the lawyer has had industrial relations experience and training in economics as well as law.

If the employer refuses to negotiate with a union on the grounds that a majority of his employees do not belong to the union, recourse may be sought to the National Labor Relations Board if the company is engaged in interstate business or, if intrastate, to state labor relations boards where such exist. The board thereupon makes a determination as to whether or not the union should be certified as the exclusive bargaining agency. In many cases an election is held in the plant or craft, although the board may certify the union without holding an election if sufficient evidence of representation is presented.⁷

⁷ The determination of the bargaining unit, of course, has an important bearing on the outcome of the election and the subsequent bargaining relations. Several of the state laws provide that where the majority of employees of a particular craft shall so decide, the board shall designate such craft as the bargaining unit. The National Labor Relations Act leaves it to the board to decide in each case. Some of the factors which guide the NLRB in determining the coverage of the appropriate bargaining unit are the past record of collective bargaining in the industry, locality, and plant; the present wishes of the parties

If a controversy arises over the specific terms to be incorporated in the agreement, such as wages, hours, seniority and vacation privileges, etc., either party may ask for the services of the federal or state conciliation service. Since the conciliator has no legal powers of compulsion, his effectiveness is dependent entirely upon the prestige of his office, the assistance he can render by reason of his knowledge of the facts involved, his skill as a negotiator, and the willingness of the parties to compromise or come to terms.

If the conciliator's recommendations are not acceptable to one or both parties, they may decide to submit the issue to an arbitrator for final decision. On the other hand, either party may decide to use its economic strength to obtain its terms and a strike or lockout may be called. Under such circumstances, the final terms of settlement are dependent largely upon which side is able to hold out the longer, although an important factor is the pressure of public opinion—especially in stoppages of work which result in inconvenience to the public.⁸ For every agreement that has been negotiated after a strike or lockout, thousands have been negotiated peaceably with no stoppage of work.

FACTUAL AIDS TO BARGAINING

The need and use of factual data in determining terms and conditions of employment are increasing in importance as economic relationships become more complex and collective bargaining processes become more extensive. Knowledge and mutual acceptance of specific facts remove many areas of conflict between employers and employees and minimize many others. The maximum use of all available data and the diligent search for additional facts indicates mature, rational bargaining.

Knowledge of given facts, however, will never automatically resolve all employer-worker differences. Beyond the point where all parties connected with a given enterprise are interested in its maximum

concerned; as well as what the board itself considers will best secure for the employees the full benefit of their right to collective bargaining. (See Chap. XIV, p. 244.)

⁸ The above describes the usual processes in normal times. During periods of national emergency, such as during World War I and the present war, special procedures and practices are established by governmental action, and with the active co-operation and support of both organized labor and employers. (See Chap. XIV, p. 246.)

prosperity, there remains the basic question of how the gross income of the enterprise shall be distributed; while management and workers may agree in principle that standards of efficiency must be maintained, there still exist differences as to relative values of specific efficiency methods. As aptly summarized by one who has observed the procedure of collective bargaining: "While factual collective bargaining tends to develop a smoothly functioning employer-union relationship, it guarantees no millennium. Divergent interpretation of jointly determined fact will still provide disagreements. Conflicts of interest will continue to exist. Nevertheless, it seems beyond doubt that a factual basis for negotiations is an essential requirement for a mature system of collective bargaining."⁹

Parties negotiating an agreement must necessarily rely upon various kinds of data in making their determinations. Financial records of the company, economic data on the industry, wages and working conditions prevailing elsewhere, prices and cost of living, and other related matters are taken into consideration to a greater or lesser extent whenever a new agreement is negotiated.

The employer, in some respects, is in an advantageous position with regard to factual data to support his claims. It is difficult, if not impossible, for the union to know the exact condition of the company's finances. On the other hand, a union that is national in scope is enabled to collect data from all its locals and be informed about the wages and working conditions throughout the unionized section of the industry. Employers' associations could also obtain and disseminate information through their members, but in this country, at the present time, few of the established trade associations deal with problems of collective bargaining. Not all the unions maintain research facilities, but the number is increasing and at present research to facilitate collective bargaining is more common on the union than on the employer side.

To an increasing extent employers and unions are seeking the aid of outside economists to gather data and sometimes to assist in the bargaining process. Some are utilizing the services of private agencies which have been especially established for that purpose—for example, one of the several labor bureaus, the National Industrial Conference Board, and the Industrial Relations Counselors, Inc.

⁹ *Collective Bargaining Procedures*, by Neil W. Chamberlain, American Council on Public Affairs, Washington, D. C., 1944, p. 98.

Both unions and employers utilize data furnished by governmental agencies. Census reports give information bearing on such matters as the relation of labor costs to total costs of manufacturing, labor productivity, as well as general economic data. The Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor provides the most extensive data used for collective bargaining purposes. For negotiating wage terms, there are available the bureau's data on wages, earnings and cost of living. It also provides information on the prevailing practices on such matters as vacation and holiday allowances, accident and safety conditions, methods of negotiating grievances, seniority rules, and other subjects usually included in employer-union agreements.

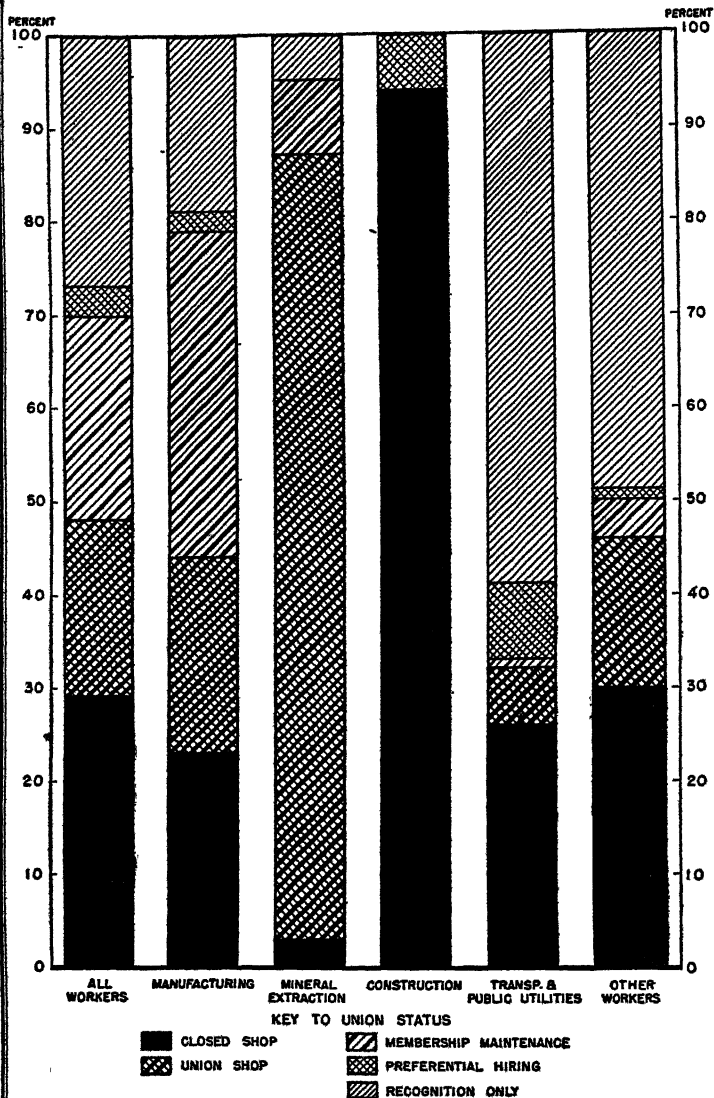
PROVISIONS IN UNION AGREEMENTS

Employer-union agreements vary not only because of the necessary differences due to the nature of the industry or occupation covered and the customs and trade practices which have developed through the years, but also because of many dynamic influences: the general economic situation prevailing at the time the agreement was negotiated, as well as the competitive position of the particular industry or employer, the bargaining strength of the union, the desires of the employer and union members, the skill of the negotiating parties and the factual evidence each has presented during the negotiations, the presence or absence of governmental regulations as well as the pressure of public opinion.

A comprehensive treatise on employer-union agreements would include the reasons for particular clauses in the various agreements and a discussion and evaluation of the significance of specific terms, as well as their relative frequency throughout the industry and in individual industries. Such a full discussion is not possible here, and the following pages merely summarize the major items covered in most agreements which usually appear as separate clauses under twenty to twenty-five section headings.

Union Status. One of the first and most important facts of any agreement is that which outlines the basic relations between the employer and the union, namely, the degree of recognition extended, the membership status of present and newly hired employees, dues collection, union use of bulletin boards and related matters.

PROPORTION OF WORKERS UNDER UNION AGREEMENT BY UNION STATUS PROVIDED, 1944 MAJOR INDUSTRY GROUPS



The degree of recognition may vary from a closed shop to recognition of the union as the sole bargaining agent, which is the minimum legal requirement under the NLRA. Under a "closed shop" provision all employees covered by the agreement must be members of the union and in addition all new employees must be hired through the union or be union members at the time of employment. While a "union shop" agreement also requires all permanent employees to be union members, the employer has complete control over the hiring of new workers and if they are not already union members a probationary period is usually allowed before they are required to join.

Under a maintenance-of-membership provision, joining the union is optional but after an employee once joins he must retain his membership for the duration of the agreement, otherwise he is subject to discharge. Some agreements which include no union membership requirements encourage membership by providing preferential treatment to members, for example, specifying that nonmembers shall be the first to be laid off and the last to be re-employed.

Clauses concerning collection of union dues may specify that the employer shall deduct the union dues from the pay of all union members (automatic checkoff), or from those employees who request such form of collection (individual authorization) or from delinquent members only. If checkoff is not provided, the agreement may allow union officials access to the plant for the purpose of collecting dues, or grant the union the right to set up a booth on company premises to collect dues on payday.¹⁰

Almost half of the 14½ million workers employed under agreement during 1944 were covered by closed- and union-shop provisions. More than half these workers were employed in manufacturing plants; almost a million were construction workers, a half million were truck drivers, another half million were miners, and the rest were in trade, service and amusement occupations. About one-fourth of all workers employed under agreements were covered by clauses which require persons who join the union to maintain their membership for the

¹⁰ Permission to collect union dues, distribute union literature and perform other union activities on company property but outside of work hours, for example, during lunchtime, has been ordered by the National Labor Relations Board under certain circumstances, viz., where plants are located at a distance from cities and where employees' homes are scattered over wide areas which makes it difficult for the union to get in contact with its members or prospective members except at their work places.

duration of the agreement; about an equal proportion were covered by agreements which do not require union membership as a condition of hiring or continuous employment.¹¹

Almost $4\frac{1}{3}$ million workers in 1944 were employed under agreements which provided some form of checkoff of union dues; most of them provided for automatic checkoff although a considerable number specified that checkoffs might be made only upon individual written authorization of employees. Most of these agreements provided the full checkoff of "all dues and assessments" levied by the union although some specified a maximum amount or "regular dues only."

Wage and Hour Provisions. Practice varies widely with respect to the amount of detail with which wage matters are treated in union agreements. In the case of small shops, the agreements may include itemized wage lists for each occupation; agreements for larger plants may specify minimum and maximum rates for major job categories, or merely give a minimum learner or common labor rate. Where wage incentive plans exist, the agreements may specify the base or guaranteed rates and outline the conditions under which new production standards and piece rates are to be established.

Some agreements specify the form, cash or check, and frequency¹² of wage payment. Other wage provisions relate to differential rates for nightwork or for hazardous work, guarantee pay for reporting at the regular time and finding no work to do, pay when transferred to a different job, deductions for damaged work or for equipment used, etc. A few agreements provide for lump sum payments, or payment of regular wages for a given number of weeks, in case of dismissal from the job through no fault of the employee.

Seldom do union agreements contain absolute restrictions on the number of hours employees shall be permitted to work, but almost without exception agreements provide penalty or overtime rates for all hours worked in excess or outside of the regular schedule. There may be absolute restrictions for persons engaged in occupations having a health or safety¹³ hazard, or in periods of slack business when the limitation on hours becomes a means for sharing available work.

¹¹ *Monthly Labor Review*, April, 1945.

¹² A number of states have laws requiring wages to be paid weekly or, in some cases, at least semimonthly.

¹³ For reasons of safety, the Interstate Commerce Commission establishes maximum hours for intercity bus and truck drivers; for reasons of health, most

Most agreements establish both daily and weekly hour maxima, for example, 8 hours per day and 40 hours per week,¹⁴ although penalty rates are not paid twice for any given hours of overtime. Many agreements provide penalty rates for Saturday and Sunday work, even though such work does not represent overtime. Special rates are also provided for second- and third-shift work, that is, nightwork, although these rates are usually only 5 or 10 per cent higher than the regular day rates in contrast to the time and a half or double time paid for overtime and week-end work.

Vacations, Holidays and Leaves of Absence. During recent years paid vacation clauses have become a standard feature of union agreements. Approximately 85 per cent of all workers under agreement during 1944 were covered by vacation clauses allowing at least one week with pay for employees with one year's service record; some provided a week's vacation after less than a year's service. An increasing number of agreements are providing two and even three weeks' paid vacation for employees with more than a year's service.¹⁵

Pay for holidays not worked is not so common as paid annual vacations, although pay for two or three holidays is frequently provided in a considerable number of agreements and others allow six or more days with pay. Practically all agreements specify penalty rates, that is, time and a half or double rates, for work performed on the six commonly specified holidays and some provide penalty rates for additional legal and religious holidays.

Comparatively few agreements provide for the payment of wages during prolonged sicknesses, although some allow payment for absence due to sickness lasting only a few days. Almost all agreements, however, allow leaves without pay for sickness or other personal reasons, and for union business. The maximum time usually allowed is one

states limit the hours which women and minors are allowed to work, and some states have hours regulations for men on certain hazardous occupations.

¹⁴ The Fair Labor Standards Act establishes no daily maximum but provides overtime rates for hours worked beyond 40 per week. The Public Contracts Act covering persons employed on United States government contracts provides time and a half for all work in excess of 8 hours per day or 40 hours per week.

¹⁵ Two weeks' paid vacations, after specified service requirements, were provided in the 1944 agreements covering about 56 per cent of those employed under agreements with paid vacation provisions in manufacturing industries. Several per cent were covered by 3 weeks' maximum vacation clauses. (See *Monthly Labor Review*, February, 1945.)

year, although it may be longer, and during such leave the employee retains his seniority rights and other benefits which he had previously acquired on the job.

Seniority Rules. Since seniority is a measure of a claim to a job, the clauses dealing with seniority are of major importance to both the employer and the employees concerned. Practically all agreements contain detailed rules specifying how seniority is acquired—on a plant-wide, department or occupational basis, or a combination of any of these units—as well as how seniority rights are applied and lost.

Most union agreements provide that layoffs are to be made on the basis of strict seniority, those with the shortest service record being laid off first, although some specify that the employer may retain a given nucleus of "indispensable" employees regardless of seniority. In order to preserve continuity in the grievance adjustment personnel, many agreements specify that union stewards are to be placed at the top of their respective seniority lists and thus be the last to be laid off.

Re-employment, of course, is in reverse order to layoff, those with the greatest seniority being the first to be reinstated when work picks up. Some agreements establish a maximum period of layoff, for example, one year, during which seniority rights are retained, although many agreements, explicitly or implicitly, allow retention of seniority rights for an indefinite period until such time as the employer is able to offer a suitable job or until the employee obtains work elsewhere.

Many agreements which apply straight seniority to reductions in force and re-employment do not recognize an employee's length of service to be the sole or primary consideration when promotions are made; in other words, seniority may govern only between employees whose skill and ability are relatively equal. Some agreements, however, go further by providing that the oldest employee in point of service shall be given an opportunity to qualify for the promotional vacancy and if, after a fair trial, he cannot qualify, the next in line is eligible, etc.

Work Rules. In addition to the provisions discussed above, and those relating to dispute and grievance adjustment discussed in the next chapter, union agreements contain clauses outlining specific work rules as well as provisions concerning health and safety matters. Work rules necessarily differ for different industries and plants, and there is

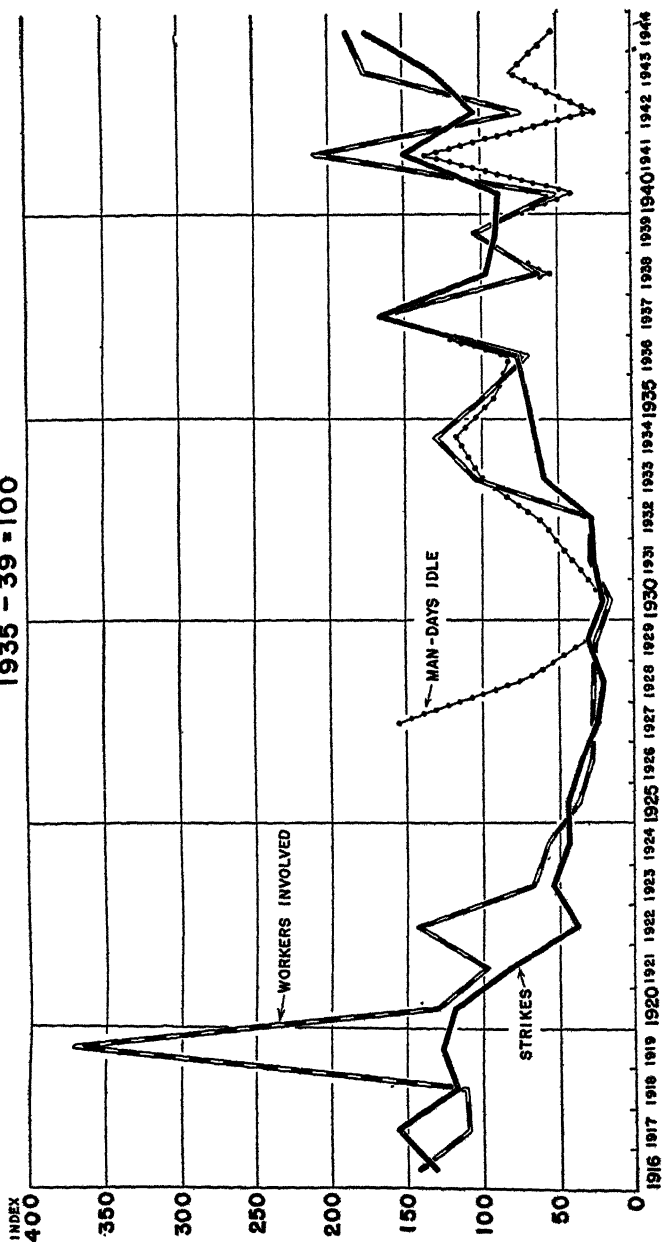
wide variation in practice as to the amount of detailed instructions included in agreements. A complete outline of plant working rules rarely appears in agreements although existing company and union rules may be incorporated by reference. Aside from matters of discipline, clauses in agreements may include rules concerning apprentices and learners, size of work crews and work loads, distribution of work among employees, restrictions on subcontracting and working on nonunion materials, use of union label and bulletin boards, provisions with regard to special groups, such as handicapped or aged employees, rules regarding care and use of machinery, and methods for conducting time and motion studies. Although some agreements include explicit statements pertaining to prerogatives of management, according to most agreements such matters are implied rather than specifically mentioned.

Health and Safety. Owing to a tendency of some employers in the past to use the physical examination as a means of discriminating against union members, and also because of a fear of depriving persons of needed employment, some agreements prohibit physical examinations as a condition for hiring or during the course of employment. An increasing number, however, provide entrance examinations and periodical checkups thereafter, although many permit appeal to the family doctor in case of adverse report from the company doctor. Where examinations are provided, most agreements specify that they shall be at company expense. A considerable number of agreements provide for group life and sick benefit insurance plans although the details are rarely incorporated in the agreements. (See Ch. XI, p. 180.)

Most agreements contain only general provisions concerning safety and sanitation, although a few of them go into much detail, especially in the case of hazardous occupations or where the public's safety is at stake. Since most state workmen's compensation laws require the reporting of accidents by the employer, most agreements do not mention this, although conformity to the law is commonly specified. Some agreements refer to a special safety committee which may be a joint management-union committee or one composed solely of union members. An increasing number of agreements, particularly those covering "dirty occupations" where workers must change from street clothes, require the furnishing of shower baths, lockers and dressing rooms.

STRIKES IN THE UNITED STATES

1935 - 39 = 100



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS

* PRELIMINARY

CHAPTER XIII

LABOR DISPUTES

A **STRIKE** is an evidence of discontent and an expression of protest; it is an overt act by which workers seek to better their conditions or mitigate a worsening of conditions. While a strike indicates dissatisfaction, it is also a manifestation of hope. Workers driven to the point of despair, either because of fear of retaliation or because of the general hopelessness of their economic situation, seldom indulge in such overt acts as strikes: their protests must necessarily take the form of sabotage or listless slowing down on the job.

A strike is a temporary stoppage of work for specific reasons, entered into with the expectation that work will be resumed when a settlement is effected. Strikers retain their status as employees with the right to return to their jobs when they have reached a mutual agreement over the matters in dispute or, if unsuccessful, when they are willing to return to work on the terms offered by the employer.¹ While some strikes arise over internal shop matters, most of them have broader implications and are directed toward a change in basic working conditions or employee-employer relationships. Although labor has uncompromisingly fought to gain and maintain the legal right to exert its economic strength by means of mass withholding of labor,² the policy of labor unions is to resort to strike action only as a last measure.

The legal right to strike has been unquestionably established in this country, under both common law and the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution which prohibits slavery and involuntary servitude. Also the legal right of strikers to reinstatement on their jobs is assured

¹ Employees involved in strikes are not always sure, of course, of having jobs to return to; the employer's business may be reduced so that he cannot take all of them back, or he may go out of business altogether.

² The one exception are the unions composed of government employees. The constitutions of practically all the unions covering clerical and postal employees, navy yards, firemen and teachers, specifically prohibit their members from engaging in strikes.

under the National Labor Relations Act and similar state acts.³ Although workers have the legal right to quit work and to return to their jobs after striking, this does not necessarily mean that all strikes are legal (for example, sit-down strikes, discussed later), nor that persons cannot be prohibited from inducing others to go on strike under particular circumstances, nor that employers may not refuse re-employment to individuals who have committed illegal acts during the course of a strike. There is a long judicial history and much literature on the question of the legality of strikes per se regardless of purpose, the legality of strikes only for "lawful purposes," what constitutes lawful conduct of strikes, and other matters pertaining to employer-employee disputes.

STOPPAGES DUE TO LABOR DISPUTES DURING THE PAST THIRTY YEARS⁴

The history of labor disputes shows that, in the main, strikes tend to diminish when business activity declines and job opportunities are scarce. Business recovery, especially when accompanied by high prices, tends to revive trade union activity and industrial disputes. While this has been true in the past, it does not necessarily follow that the same trend will take place in the future: Organized labor may be so firmly established that business recession may not cause a decrease in workers' protests over wages or other conditions.

Stoppages During World War I. It was not until late in 1915 that American business generally began to feel the effects of the war in Europe. With the rising prices and the increasing need for labor, industrial disputes more than doubled in 1916 and reached a peak of 4,450 in 1917. The most serious strikes, as far as the conduct of the war was concerned, were those which took place at Bridgeport, Conn., and in the northwestern lumber industry. The latter, which tied up the entire northwestern lumber industry during the greater part of 1917, were primarily for the eight-hour day, although wages and working conditions were important factors. The machinists' strikes in the munitions factories at Bridgeport were for wage increases and against union discrimination. A number of government agencies intervened to settle these strikes, but dissatisfaction continued throughout the

³ Sec. 2 (3) of the act defines "employee" to include "any individual whose work has ceased as a consequence of, or in connection with, any current labor dispute .

war, although some wage increases were granted and the eight-hour day was established in the northwest lumber industry.

Over 4 million persons were involved in stoppages due to labor disputes in 1919, the largest number of workers ever involved in strikes in any one year in this country. The chief causes of these widespread disputes were the rapidly rising cost of living, which was twice as high as in 1914, and the determination of trade unions to extend further the influence of union organization in areas in which they had obtained a foothold during the war.

The first general or city-wide strike of any size which had ever occurred in the United States took place in Seattle in 1919, where 60,000 workers went out in sympathy with the metal trades workers in the local shipyards. During this same year the policemen of Boston, dissatisfied over wages and working conditions, formed a policemen's union and when a number of them were discharged for joining the union the entire police force went on strike. There were a number of telephone strikes during the summer of 1919, one practically cutting off telephone communication throughout New England for six days. Strikes in the men's clothing industry in New York resulted in the general adoption of the 44-hour week in union shops throughout the country.

The largest strikes occurring during 1919 were in steel and bituminous coal mining. The steel strike, in which 367,000 workers were involved, was primarily for union recognition. Although the strike was lost, the publicity given to working conditions in the industry caused the eight-hour day to be substituted for the twelve-hour day shortly thereafter. While this controversy was still in progress a strike of 425,000 miners was called in the bituminous coal industry. In spite of two federal injunctions and citations of numerous union officials for contempt under the Lever Act,⁵ the miners stayed out for three months and returned to work only after President Wilson secured a compromise wage settlement.

⁵ The Lever Food and Fuel Control Act (U. S. Stat., Vol. 40) was enacted August 10, 1917, but was never used in a labor dispute until after the Armistice. It read, in part: "It is hereby made unlawful for any person willfully to conspire, combine, agree, or arrange with any other person to limit the facilities for transporting, producing, manufacturing, supplying, storing or dealing in any necessities; to restrict distribution of any necessities; to prevent, limit, or lessen the manufacture or production of any necessities in order to enhance the price thereof, or to exact excessive prices for any necessities; or to aid or abet the doing of any act made unlawful by this section."

Although there were no such large disputes in 1920 as there had been during the preceding year, the total number of strikes remained at a high level, most of them due to discontent with wages which had not been adjusted to rapidly increasing cost of living.

Postwar Depression. The wage issue was sharply reversed in 1921 when the cost of living dropped about 17 per cent from its high point in 1920, and during this year there were almost 1,000 strikes in protest against wage decreases. The largest strike was that of 140,000 marine workers in all the principal ports in an unsuccessful protest against a 15 per cent general reduction promulgated by the United States Shipping Board. In contrast, the printers' unions' unprecedented number of strikes were largely successful in gaining the 44-hour week.

There were less than half as many strikes in 1922 as in 1921, although the number of workers involved was 50 per cent greater, largely due to the strike of 400,000 railroad shop craftsmen and to strikes throughout the coal industry. The railroad shop craftsmen's strike was originally called in protest against wage reductions ordered by the Railroad Labor Board, although during its progress other matters assumed importance. A sweeping injunction practically forbade every traditional strike activity carried on by unions and the loss of prestige which the Railroad Labor Board suffered during this strike contributed to its abandonment soon afterward.

The coal strike, called in protest against wage reductions, was the most complete response to a strike call in the history of mine strikes, with anthracite and bituminous miners for the first time going out simultaneously. In spite of intervention by the President and the governors of the affected states, the strike continued throughout the summer, the miners returning to work in August when the wage issues were referred to a commission appointed by the President.⁶

During 1922 there were also a number of strikes in the textile industry. A general strike, which involved 60,000 workers in cotton and woolen textile mills, was called throughout New England in protest against a general 20 per cent wage reduction and increase in

⁶ As a result of this agitation Congress, on Sept. 22, 1922, passed a law creating the United States Coal Commission, whose duty it was to investigate all phases of production, transportation, and distribution of coal and all organized and other relations among operators and miners with a view to recommending remedial legislation.

hours from 48 to 54 per week. As a result of the strike, wage reductions were generally restored, but many mills refused to go on the 48-hour week.

Strikes from 1923 to 1933. Although the number of strikes increased in 1923, there were less than half as many workers involved as in 1922. Most of these strikes were for higher wages, indicating an effort to regain some of the wage losses of the 1921-1922 depression. Strike activity was unusually low during the latter half of the twenties even though business conditions were relatively good. Prices, however, were stable and, although there was an increasing amount of technological unemployment, most workers who had jobs were making fairly good wages. Also, organized labor was at a low ebb following the antiunion campaigns during the early twenties.

The largest strike during this period was the 1927 strike of 165,000 bituminous coal miners, which started in April and continued through the rest of the year. In 1928 there was another protracted strike in the bituminous coal industry, although this did not involve as many workers as the 1927 strike. The failure of these strikes resulted in a drastic loss in membership in the United Mine Workers of America and the virtual abandonment of the central competitive field as a basic unit for wage negotiations.

Beginning with the depression in 1930, the number of strikes declined and remained low during the following three years. Strike activity was at a minimum in 1930; the rapid recession of business activity discouraged strikes for wage increases while at the same time comparatively few wage cuts were put into effect. By 1931 and 1932 wage reductions became general and protest strikes became more numerous, practically half the strikes during these years being in protest against such wage reductions. Compared to previous years, a relatively large number of these strikes were called by independent unions as, for example, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the National Union of Textile Workers, the Needle Trades Workers' Industrial Union, and the National Miners' Union.⁷

The New Deal Period. The first year of recovery and the impetus for increased organizational activity resulting from the National Industrial Recovery Act doubled the number of strikes in 1933. During that

⁷ See p. 21.

summer, for the first time in ten years, there were more than 200 new strikes each month, and, for the first time since 1922 there were more than a million workers involved in strikes throughout the year. Whereas during the preceding depression years there were four times as many strikes in protest against wage decreases as for wage increases, in 1933 there were almost five times as many strikes for wage increases as against reductions in wages. Strikes for union recognition also increased, almost one-third of the 1933 strikes being over questions of union organization.

The two outstanding strikes in 1934 were those of the San Francisco longshoremen, which brought on a two-day general sympathy strike of all organized trades in the San Francisco Bay area, and the general textile strike, which involved over 300,000 textile workers in twenty states. The textile strike, which was primarily over recognition and the "stretch-out" system, brought few gains other than the promise of a thorough investigation of the textile industry by a special committee appointed by the President. The prolonged and bitter longshoremen's strike resulted not only in recognition and wage and hour adjustments for all ports on the Pacific Coast, but the system of hiring halls established under the arbitration award effected a virtual closed shop.

Union organization continued as the dominant issue in a large proportion of the strikes which occurred during 1935. Some of these were directed against company unions and for trade unions, some for union recognition in plants or industries into which union influence had never before penetrated, and some for a return of union recognition which had been lost during the depression. Strikes among white-collar and retail workers also grew to significant numbers, especially in newspaper editorial and insurance offices.

The Chevrolet and Fisher Body strikes in 1935 at Toledo and Cincinnati, primarily against the representation plans set up under an Automobile Labor Board, were a harbinger of the more widespread automobile strikes which followed two years later. Strikes throughout the lumber and sawmill areas of Washington and Oregon were directed against the Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen, a joint employer-employee organization established during the World War I. Compromise settlements were effected in most instances.

Strikes involving employees of the two largest flat-glass manufacturing companies in the country brought general wage increases, recognition of the union, readjustments in seniority and other working rules. The rubber industry, which had been particularly free from labor dis-

putes even during the World War I, was first seriously affected by strikes during 1936 and it was in Akron that the sit-down strike was first used to any extent. The cause of these disputes was the companies' desire to lengthen the existing 36-hour week and reduce piecework rates, together with the desire of the new United Rubber Workers of America for recognition.

The largest and most prolonged strikes during 1936 were those of the maritime workers on all three coasts. The Pacific Coast strike of seamen and longshoremen completely tied up water transportation for several months and thereby affected thousands of other workers, particularly in the lumber and canning industries of the Northwest. By the terms of the settlement, licensed and unlicensed personnel received wage increases and the union maintained its control of the dispatching from the hiring halls. The Atlantic Coast strike, which was originally called in sympathy for the West Coast workers, soon developed into a show of strength of an insurgent movement of rank-and-file members which later developed into the National Maritime Union.

There were more strikes in 1937 than in any preceding year in the nation's history, although the number of workers involved in strikes was less than half that in 1919. The unprecedented number of strikes during 1937 was due to various factors but underlying all was the fact that business was on the upgrade: prices were rising and conditions were favorable for workers to make demands upon their employers. The direct factor was the accelerated growth on all fronts of the trade union movement, due in large part to the validation of the National Labor Relations Act which assured hitherto unorganized workers their right to join the ranks of organized labor and their right to protection against discrimination. Another factor was the split in the trade union movement with its consequent increase in organization activities in the mass production industries, and vigorous drives by both factions throughout all industry.⁸ The use of the sit-down strike, especially during the early months of the year, also tended to increase the number of strikes.⁹

The first strike ensuing from the organization drives into the mass

⁸ See Chap. II, p. 27. An evidence that the rivalry between AFL and CIO resulted in an extension of union activity into hitherto unorganized areas more than in rival contests in already organized fields is indicated by the fact that less than 3 per cent of the strikes during 1937 were over the question of which one of the rival organizations should represent any one group of workers. (*Monthly Labor Review*, May, 1938.)

⁹ See p. 222.

production industries during 1937 was against the General Motors Corporation, which resulted in the company signing a recognition agreement with the United Automobile Workers. Subsequently, there were strikes at plants of the Chrysler and Hudson companies as well as numerous auto parts, farm equipment and automobile repair shops, most of which were settled with the signing of union agreements.

In March, 1937, the United States Steel Corporation agreed to recognize the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee which later became the United Steelworkers union. This action on the part of the largest steel concern encouraged a number of small companies to grant union recognition without strike action. A 36-hour strike of 24,000 employees of the Jones & Laughlin Company in May was settled when the company agreed to a NLRB election, which was held several days later and resulted in the recognition of the union.

There was a serious strike in the steel industry involving the Republic Steel Corporation, Youngstown Sheet & Tube Company, the Inland Steel Company and the Bethlehem Steel Corporation. This strike against so-called "Little Steel" extended into seven States—Illinois, Indiana, Maryland, Michigan, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania—and was marked by much violence. Local police forces were augmented with special deputies and the National Guard was called into several localities. At least fifteen strikers lost their lives and many more were injured. Although the strikes failed, the companies definitely refusing to sign any semblance of an agreement, union recognition was obtained several years later (1941) after the Supreme Court upheld NLRB charges of unfair labor practices.

Largely owing to the business recession which began the latter part of 1937, as well as the fact that the major organizational drives in the mass production industries had been concluded, strike activity declined during 1938 and 1939. There were a number of strikes in automobile plants, some of which were indirectly due to the factional disputes within the CIO Automobile Workers' Union which resulted in some of the members forming a new union and affiliating with the AFL. The largest strike was the general coal stoppage in the spring of 1939, which terminated with the establishment of union-shop conditions in most of the anthracite and bituminous coal mines. (The union shop was not obtained in the "captive" mines, however, until 1941.)

Defense and War Period. With the advent of the defense program, which began with the first Congressional emergency appropriation in

June, 1940, American labor and industry faced many special problems which at times caused conflicts leading to strikes. Production and employment increased rapidly and need for round-the-clock scheduling brought problems of shift work and overtime rates into new prominence. The great influx of new workers, with no previous union experience, into organized plants raised sharply the question of union security. Also, many new plants were established and in some instances union recognition was not granted until after strikes were called.

A major source of disquietude was the rise in the cost of living which started early in 1941 and continued to advance until the spring of 1943 at which time it was 27 per cent higher than prewar levels.¹⁰ Responding to the rise which had taken place by the spring of 1942, the War Labor Board adopted a policy of granting 15 per cent wage increases over January, 1941, levels,¹¹ and this formula was incorporated in the Wage Stabilization Act (Oct. 2, 1942). A considerable number of stoppages which occurred thereafter were in protest against the government policy of not allowing general wage rates to advance beyond 15 per cent over 1941 levels.

Most of the stoppages due to labor disputes which have occurred during the present war have lasted only a few days, with employees returning to work in response to appeals from their union leaders and the War Labor Board. However, in several instances workers refused to return until after the plants were taken over by the government upon referral to the President by the board.¹² In contrast to prewar

¹⁰ The Bureau of Labor Statistics official cost-of-living index in August 1939 was 98.6; in May 1943 it was 125.1, remaining practically stationary for the next year and a half. Spokesmen for labor vigorously protested these official figures claiming the actual increase was almost twice as great. The BLS also intimates that its index does not represent the full advance in living costs by stating in its releases: "The index does not show the full wartime effect on the cost of living of such factors as lowered quality, disappearance of low-priced goods and forced changes in housing and eating away from home. It does not measure changes in total living costs—that is, in the total amount families spend for living. Income taxes and bond subscriptions are not included."

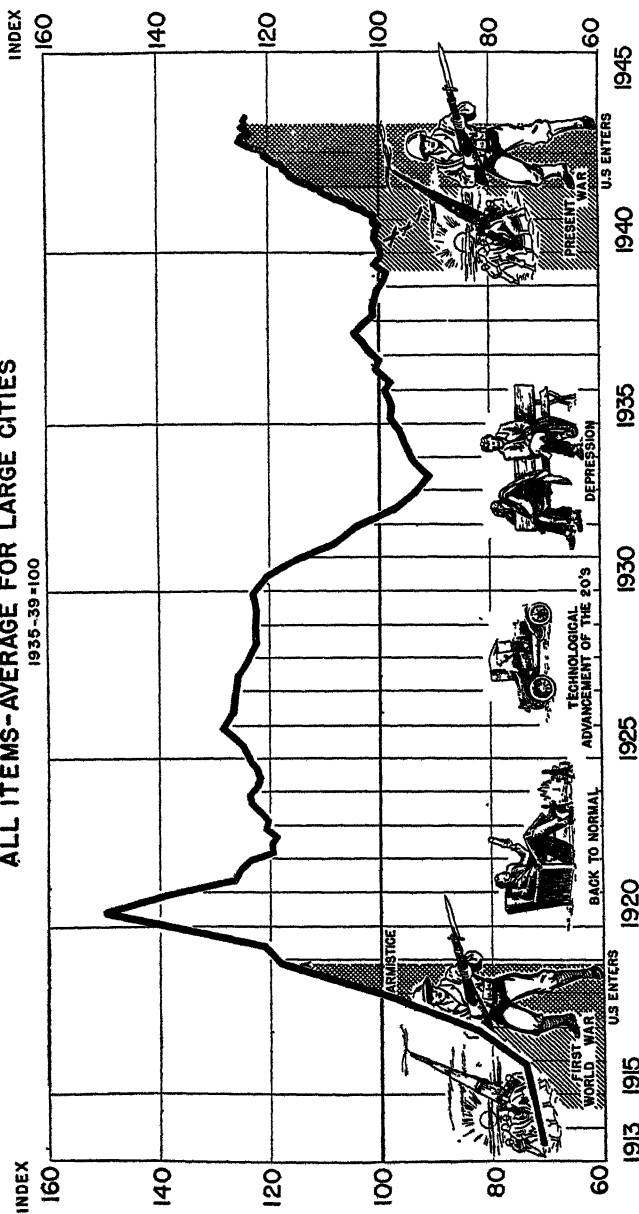
¹¹ Called the "Little Steel" formula because it was first applied in a case involving the four "little steel" companies.

¹² In addition to the three companies temporarily taken over by the government during the defense period before Pearl Harbor, there were 23 strike cases followed by government operation, for greater or lesser periods of time, during the first 3 years after our entry into war. In 7 instances government operation was put into effect before the War Labor Board issued any decisions on the matters in dispute. Sixteen seizures involved noncompliance with directives of the War Labor Board: in 9 of these the workers were out because the management had refused to abide by the board's decisions, while in 7 the strikes were workers' protests against board decisions.

COST OF LIVING

ALL ITEMS-AVERAGE FOR LARGE CITIES

1935-39=100



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS

strikes in which union recognition, discrimination, etc., were the major causes of over half the strikes, only about 15 per cent of those occurring in 1942-1944 were over union organization issues. Approximately half the war stoppages were primarily due to disputes over wages, while about a third were due to internal shop conditions—questions of seniority, disciplinary measures, work loads, shift assignments, etc.

Although there were many serious stoppages in aircraft, shipbuilding and munition plants during this period, none of them was widespread or of long duration. The largest and most prolonged strikes were in coal mining, where in 1943 there were four complete shutdowns and over 400 local stoppages, most of them due to wage disputes including the question of "portal to portal" pay.¹³ The government took over virtually all the mines during the summer and fall of 1943 and a considerable number of mines again in 1944 when there were numerous shutdowns caused by strikes of mine foremen. These foremen had organized into a local of District 50 of the United Mine Workers, but the National Labor Relation Board refused to certify them in accordance with its policy of excluding supervisory personnel from coverage under the National Labor Relations Act.

It was largely due to the coal strikes that Congress was incited to enact what at that time was popularly referred to as the "antistrike" law.¹⁴ The act was passed over the veto of the President, who disapproved its enactment largely because he felt it would not eliminate strikes and in fact gave legal sanction to strikes in war industries after a 30 days' notice and strike balloting. While the authority given the War Labor Board by the act proved to be useful in a number of instances, the effectiveness of the act in preventing strikes was question-

¹³ See *Monthly Labor Review*, May, 1944, p. 945, for a brief account of these stoppages.

¹⁴ The War Labor Disputes Act (June 25, 1943) requires a thirty days' notice before there can be any interruption of work in plants and mines involved "in the prosecution of the war." If the dispute is not settled within this 30-day period, the National Labor Relations Board is to hold a secret election among the employees affected to determine whether or not they wish to go out on strike. If a plant is taken over by the government because of strikes and lockouts, the Act makes it unlawful for any person "to coerce, instigate, induce, conspire with or encourage any person to interfere . . . with the operation of the plant." However, the Act specifically says: "No individual shall be deemed to have violated the provisions of this section by reason only of his having ceased work or having refused to continue to work or to accept employment." The Act also gave the War Labor Board legislative authority to subpoena witnesses or documents and to "decide the dispute" and order the "terms and conditions . . . governing the relations between the parties."

able. Of the 4,448 strikes taking place during the first year's operation of the act, only 64 followed strike balloting as provided by the act.¹⁵

SIT-DOWN STRIKES

Among the most dramatic, and to many people alarming, strike phenomena in recent years were the so-called sit-down strikes which took place during 1936-1937. Sitting at one's workplace but refusing to work was not an entirely new technique for dissatisfied workers to use in their efforts to force better working conditions from employers. It is not unusual for small groups of workers in unorganized as well as unionized shops to stop work, but remain at their workplaces until a particular wage rate or other grievance is settled. Such stoppages usually last only an hour or two, and in previous years had seldom occurred in mass production industries where an interruption by a few employees immediately affects the flow of production throughout the plant.

The 1936-1937 wave of sit-down strikes was unprecedented, however, both in magnitude and in their unique characteristic of workers staying in the plants day and night for extended periods.¹⁶ Although they were a manifestation of spontaneous protests by groups of workers in various individual plants rather than a planned, integrated movement, they nevertheless represented a focal reaction to the accumulated impact of many forces, political and economic, national and international. Significantly, most of these sit-down strikes were vanguards of unionization rather than acts of already organized workers, and took place in plants and industries where employers had long opposed collective bargaining.

¹⁵ Bureau of Labor Statistics strike release for July, 1944. Over 1,000 strike notices were filed during this year and a large number of these disputes were settled during the 30 days' waiting period. In 203 out of the 230 instances where balloting was conducted, the workers voted to strike but strikes actually took place in only 64 of these cases.

¹⁶ In 525 of the 6,912 strikes occurring during the two years, workers stayed in the plants one or more working days. There were also numerous unrecorded sit-down strikes which lasted only a few hours. In about half the 525 officially recorded sit-down strikes, workers stayed in the plants for one or more nights—in a few cases as long as several weeks. Sit-down strikes reached their peak in March, 1937, when 170 occurred. By the end of the year they had practically disappeared. (*Monthly Labor Review*, August, 1938, p. 360.) See also "Sit-Down Strikes" by Don D. Lescohier, *The World Today*, Encyclopaedia Britannica, April, 1937. For an apologia of the sit-down method see *Sit-Down* by Joel Seidman, a pamphlet published by the League for Industrial Democracy, New York, 1937.

In the background were the long years of employer absolutism in labor relations and the many jobless months of the 1930-1932 depression. In the foreground were the newly aroused hopes and expectations inspired by the New Deal government and the National Labor Relations Act. The numerous and dramatic sit-down strikes which were taking place in France, and the "stay-down" strikes occurring in Hungarian, Polish and Welsh coal mines, no doubt had their effect on the psychology of the workers in this country; also there is some evidence that the philosophy of passive resistance personified by the Gandhi movement in India had its influence.¹⁷

Although the sit-down strikes were a radical departure from the traditional behavior of American workers, they did not represent a revolutionary movement: They were not founded on Marxian doctrines or the syndicalist philosophy of the IWW. Even in the minds of their most ardent advocates, there was no intention of seizing employers' property permanently in order to operate the plants, and the "guarding" from within was merely conceived as a substitute for the outside picket line to keep employers from operating their plants until grievances were settled. Ideological defenders maintained that the right "to hold" the workplace was a natural corollary to the worker's right to his job; since the skill of the worker in running a machine is a property right that has no value apart from the machine, workers have the right to protect this asset, and to do so it might be necessary for them to remain at the machine or in the plant. The sit-down strikers themselves, however, gave little thought to the principles at stake as they vigorously utilized this new-found weapon to gain immediate concessions from employers (and incidentally got a good deal of emotional release from the novel, dramatic experience!).

There was considerable division of opinion among the legal fraternity over this new aspect of the age-old conflict between employer-employee rights. A number of outstanding lawyers, including some judges and law-school deans, maintained or at least intimated that the

¹⁷ The prolonged depression had incited many young "intellectuals" to thinking about methods of protest against economic and political injustices and some became deeply impressed by the Hindu Nationalists' passive resistance technique. Some of these young people, who directly and indirectly had some influence on labor activities during these years, recommended the sit-down method in preference to the traditional picket strike as being a more passive form of protest. However, not all the sit-down strikes turned out to be as peaceful as the name implies.

sit-down strike was not necessarily illegal.¹⁸ The preponderance of legal opinion, as well as public opinion, held that the sit-down strike constituted trespass upon the employer's property, and this was the view taken by a majority of the Supreme Court which declared sit-down strikes to be "a high-handed proceeding without shadow of legal right." The court ruled, however, that such strikes were not a restraint of trade within the meaning of the Sherman Antitrust Act.¹⁹

Long before these court decisions were rendered, however, the sit-down strike had all but disappeared. Responsible union leaders had never approved this method of striking, for very practical reasons: In addition to the fear of the consequences from public disapproval, the "wildcat" nature of this form of strike action imperiled the unions' influence upon the workers themselves. By their very nature they are not compatible with stable collective bargaining relationships for they enable a few workers, without notice to the union or to the employer, to tie up operations of entire plants. Where they occur in organized plants, they represent a rebellion against the union as much as against the employer since they antithesize the orderly grievance adjustment procedures established by union contract with the employer.

As already indicated, few of the 1936-1937 sit-down strikes took place in plants which had contractual relations with unions. Most of

¹⁸ A number of judges refused to issue injunctions to have the employees evicted and several issued injunctions restraining companies from evicting sit-down strikers. One law school dean is reported to have held that "the sit-down strike did not constitute trespass so long as the property was occupied in good faith awaiting the adjustment of differences growing out of the industrial relation." Another dean observed that "the history of our law is replete with illustrations of the creation of new rights." The legality of the sit-down strike "will depend in part upon the emphasis that law will give to the concept of property and its inviolability in its industrial and corporate setting to economic pressure of this type—and in part, perhaps, on the capacity of our law to devise new concepts and mechanisms to meet the needs out of which this type of economic pressure has been born." ("Sit-Down" by Louis Stark, *Survey Graphic*, June, 1937.)

¹⁹ In the *Fansteel Metallurgical Corporation* (February, 1939) case the employer was found guilty of unfair labor practices and the NLRB had sought to have some sit-down strikers reinstated. The majority of the court reversed the board's decision because of the nature of the sit-down strike. While the minority opinion of the court agreed with the majority in disapproval of the sit-down strike, it did not consider such conduct sufficient cause to deny strikers reinstatement since management and labor had both erred. In the *Apex Hosiery Company* case (May, 1940) the Supreme Court held that the company could not "recover" triple damages under the Sherman Act although it had the right to seek damages under state civil and penal laws since sit-down strikes were unlawful.

those which did were in plants where top management had recently signed agreements but where the foremen had not yet adjusted themselves to the day-by-day process of collective bargaining and where union stewards were inexperienced in grievance adjustment—many of the sit-down strikes were due to friction between foremen and union stewards.

JURISDICTIONAL DISPUTES

Disputes between two or more unions over the right to perform certain jobs or kinds of work are frequently the most baffling of all labor disputes to resolve.²⁰ Stemming from the craft form of organization, jurisdictional disputes are by-products of the continual changes in machinery, methods and materials taking place in a dynamic industrial economy. Each such change causes the elimination of certain kinds of occupations or types of jobs and the substitution of others.

Conflicts arise when a union seeks to continue its jurisdiction over the function performed, regardless of the new materials or processes which may be introduced; or when a new process arouses a desire for a new craft autonomy. Thus the Carpenters' Union has had many disputes with the Sheet Metal Workers, Structural Iron Workers, and Machinists as steel and other metals were substituted for wood to perform essentially the same function. The Bricklayers have clashed with the Glaziers when glass blocks were substituted for bricks and stone. The discovery of acetylene torches not only brought disputes between the Blacksmiths and Machinists but gave rise to a new Welders' Union which is now in conflict with the older metal-working unions. The introduction of the offset process in printing occasioned an unresolved conflict between the Lithographers', Pressmen's, and Photo-Engravers' unions.

Jurisdictional disputes by their very nature are best settled by the unions themselves, although outsiders may be able to effect a tem-

²⁰ There is a distinct difference between jurisdictional disputes and disputes between rival unions. Rival union disputes result from dualism in organization, the several unions either being unaffiliated or belonging to different federated groups (AFL or CIO). Jurisdictional disputes may, and frequently do, involve unions belonging to the same federated body. A dispute between rival unions is likely to be brought before a labor relations board (see p. 245), since it is a matter of determining which union a majority of the workers in a certain trade or plant wish to have represent them. In a jurisdictional dispute it is a question of which union has jurisdiction over a certain trade or kind of work, the workers themselves already having chosen their bargaining agency.

porary compromise to cover a particular situation. One of the major functions of the American Federation of Labor is to determine the jurisdictional boundaries and to resolve the disputes of its affiliated unions. A prime motive in the establishment of its Building and Construction Trades Department was to settle the ever-recurring conflicts of jurisdiction among the building trades unions. At certain times on a national scale as well as in some of the larger cities, the contractors and unions have established joint machinery for the handling of such disputes.

Under the present procedure of the Building Trades Department, both claimants to a job submit their briefs to the local building trades council which forwards them to the President of the Building Trades Department in Washington. This officer, after consulting with the International Presidents of the unions concerned, renders a "spot" decision which covers the specific job in dispute. The case is then handed to a permanent national referee who is empowered to award the specific type of work permanently to the union which he believes has the greatest right to it. During these proceedings, stoppages are prohibited and the union in possession of the work continues to do the work until the final decision is rendered.

In the railroad industry unresolved jurisdictional disputes are referred to the National Mediation Board, which certifies the union receiving the majority vote in an election within an "appropriate" unit. While the board takes into consideration the customary practice of the union or unions involved, in many cases involving rival claimants it must define jurisdictional boundaries in order to determine the appropriate bargaining unit. During the ten years the National Mediation Board has been responsible for certifying collective bargaining agencies in the railroad industry, it has disposed of more than a thousand representation disputes of which over one-third involved two or more rival unions.

UNION RULES CONCERNING STRIKES

Practically every International union constitution contains some statement regarding the calling and conduct of strikes. In general, the purpose of such clauses is to minimize hasty and ill-advised action, and to provide financial aid and ensure its maximum success once a strike is called. In considering the purpose and character of strike clauses in union constitutions it should be remembered, of course, that any organ-

ization's formally adopted rules may not be adhered to by all the members at all times. Just as individuals may ignore or violate civil laws, so members of unions may, upon occasion, engage in strikes contrary to their unions' regulations. Such stoppages the unions themselves call "illegal" or "wild-cat."

In order to call a strike the majority of unions require a two-thirds affirmative vote of the membership affected and sanction by the International President or General Executive Board. Some constitutions permit the calling of a strike by a majority vote of the local membership while others require three-fourths vote. Many stipulate that the vote shall be by secret ballot at a special meeting of the local, which has been announced a given number of days in advance, and which is attended by at least one-fourth of the total members. Some unions require the presence of an International representative at the local meeting when a strike vote is to be taken.

While such rules prevail, in the building trades and some other unions, the local business agent is sometimes given authority to call "job" or "shop" strikes when, in his opinion, the agreement is being violated. If such strikes will affect members of other unions, as well as his own, however, approval of the local or district trades council or joint board is required.

While almost all unions require the sanction of the General Executive Board or the International President, before a strike may be undertaken, in practice this sanction is usually effective only in so far as financial aid from the International is sought and obtained. Some union constitutions specifically limit the sanction requirement to those strikes which the International is to finance and in such cases the local union's vote to call a strike is final if the membership does not expect to receive strike benefits or other aid from its International office. On the other hand, locals of some unions are absolutely forbidden to engage in any strike without approval of the International office; otherwise they may be suspended.²¹

In some situations the General Executive Board (or International

²¹ An outstanding example of action taken by International union officers is the case of the railroad strike in 1920 for increased wages. Although the Brotherhoods were in sympathy with the demands (a substantial wage increase was in fact later obtained), the strike was not authorized by the Brotherhoods. As a consequence, scores of the local charters were revoked and thousands lost their membership. When they were rehired, the Brotherhoods insisted they be taken in as new members with no seniority privileges.

President) is authorized to take the initiative in calling strikes, with or without a vote of the local membership. Whether so defined or not, the circumstances under which the International office is empowered to call a strike on its own initiative are usually confined to situations which violate a basic principle of the union and thus jeopardize the union's existence. A few constitutions, for example, permit the International Executive Board to call a strike whenever "necessary to defend the organization," "to protect the union's jurisdiction," in a "great emergency" or, more particularly, "where members are working on struck work."

Unions which require a three-fourths vote of the members to call a strike usually require only a majority vote for their termination. As with the calling of strikes, the authority of the General Officers to end a strike varies among the different unions. In some instances the International President has the power to call off a strike whenever, in his judgment, it is to the best interests of the union to do so. More generally the termination of a strike is dependent on the vote of those immediately involved, although the influence of the International officers usually has considerable weight. In all cases, so far as the continuance of strike benefits is concerned, the International officers have the final word.

STRIKE BENEFITS

As already indicated, strike benefits are paid from the treasuries of the International unions, although a local may finance some of the general expenses incident to the carrying on of its strike, such as publicity, etc. Few locals attempt to maintain funds sufficient to pay benefits to the individual members affected. Provision for financing strikes and the ability to pay strike benefits when needed vary greatly among unions, although practically all seek to maintain a reserve for this purpose, most commonly called the "defense fund." The amounts in these defense funds naturally fluctuate, depending both upon the provision made for maintaining them as well as the necessity for withdrawals at any particular time.

Strike funds may be accumulated through the regular transfer of a portion of the per capita taxes or through the levying of special assessments for that purpose. Some union constitutions specify that a certain portion of the per capita taxes shall be regularly deposited in the defense fund, while others specify a minimum amount which shall be maintained; if the fund falls below the specified amount, the treasurer

is authorized to levy special assessments. When separate funds are not maintained and strike benefits must be paid from the general fund, the drain upon the treasury during a prolonged strike may jeopardize other activities of the union.²² In practice, even though not stipulated in the constitution, the General Officers usually safeguard the regular and permanent activities of the union even though this may necessitate the curtailment of strike benefits.

The amount of weekly benefits paid individual members while out on strike is, by necessity, based on minimum subsistence needs during the period of loss in wages. Many unions provide smaller amounts for single than for married men. Frequently, also, benefits are waived if a member is able to obtain other work for as much as three or four days a week. Usually benefits do not begin until after a strike has been in progress for at least two weeks, and many unions place a limit on the maximum number of weeks benefits may be paid, regardless of the duration of the strike. Some constitutions specify that no more than a given percentage—15 per cent, for example—of the union's total members may receive support at any one time.

Less than half the union constitutions specify the exact amounts of benefits which shall be paid individual members involved in strikes. The sum most frequently specified is between \$5 and \$10 a week; some provide as much as \$12, while a few of the smaller craft unions pay \$15 to \$20 a week. In most unions the amount of benefits paid is determined when the occasion arises on the basis of funds available. Whether or not the weekly amount is specified in its constitution, actual payments, of course, are contingent upon the condition of the union's treasury when the strike occurs.

²² The author was told of one instance where a prolonged, and unsuccessful, strike, completely exhausted the union's treasury and for a number of years thereafter the union was unable to pay its old-age benefits. This, of course, aroused a good deal of dissatisfaction among members not involved in the particular strike who had expected to receive their old-age benefits upon retirement.

TABLE VI. WORK STOPPAGES DUE TO LABOR DISPUTES
1916-1944*

Year	Number of strikes and lockouts	Workers involved		Man-days idle		Index of (1935-39 = 100)—		
		Number	Per cent of total employed ¹	Number	Per cent of available working time ²	Strikes and lockouts	Workers involved	Man-days idle
1916	3,789	1,599,917	8.4	(9)	(9)	132	142	(9)
1917	4,450	1,227,254	6.3	(9)	(9)	155	109	(9)
1918	3,353	1,239,989	6.2	(9)	(9)	117	110	(9)
1919	3,630	4,160,348	20.8	(9)	(9)	127	370	(9)
1920	3,411	1,463,054	7.2	(9)	(9)	119	130	(9)
1921	2,385	1,099,247	6.4	(9)	(9)	83	98	(9)
1922	1,112	1,612,562	8.7	(9)	(9)	39	143	(9)
1923	1,553	756,584	3.5	(9)	(9)	54	67	(9)
1924	1,249	654,641	3.1	(9)	(9)	44	58	(9)
1925	1,301	428,416	2.0	(9)	(9)	45	38	(9)
1926	1,035	329,592	1.5	(9)	(9)	36	29	(9)
1927	707	329,939	1.4	26,218,628	0.37	25	29	155
1928	604	314,210	1.3	12,631,863	.17	21	28	75
1929	921	288,572	1.2	5,351,540	.07	32	26	32
1930	637	182,975	.8	3,316,808	.05	22	16	20
1931	810	341,817	1.6	6,893,244	.11	28	30	41
1932	841	324,210	1.8	10,502,033	.23	29	29	62
1933	1,695	1,168,272	6.3	16,872,128	.36	59	104	100
1934	1,856	1,466,695	7.2	19,591,949	.38	65	130	116
1935	2,014	1,117,213	5.2	15,456,337	.29	70	99	91
1936	2,172	788,648	3.1	13,901,956	.21	76	70	82
1937	4,740	1,860,621	7.2	28,424,857	.43	166	165	168
1938	2,772	688,376	2.8	9,148,273	.15	97	61	54
1939	2,613	1,170,962	4.7	17,812,219	.28	91	104	105
1940	2,508	576,988	2.3	6,700,872	.10	88	51	40
1941	4,288	2,362,620	8.4	23,047,556	.32	150	210	136
1942	2,968	839,961	2.8	4,182,557	.05	104	75	25
1943	3,752	1,981,279	6.9	13,500,529	.15	131	176	80
1944	4,956	2,115,637	7.0	8,721,079	.09	173	188	51

* From Bureau of Labor Statistics, Department of Labor. Statistics include all strikes and lockouts which lasted one day (or shift) or longer and involved 6 or more workers.

¹ "Total employed workers" as used here includes all workers except those in occupations and professions where strikes rarely if ever occur. In general, the term "total employed workers" includes all employees except the following groups: Government workers, agricultural wage earners on farms employing less than 6 workers, managerial and supervisory employees, and certain groups which because of the nature of their work cannot or do not strike (such as college professors, clergymen, and domestic servants). Self-employed and unemployed persons are, of course, excluded.

² "Available working time" was estimated for purposes of this table by multiplying the average number of employed workers each year by the number of days worked by most employees during the year.

³ Not available.

CHAPTER XIV

ADJUSTMENT OF DISPUTES

DETERRENTS to strike action and regulations concerning the settlement of labor grievances and disputes are effectuated in three ways: (1) through self-imposed rules of the unions as stated in their constitutions and other expressions of policy; (2) through regulations and machinery provided in employer-union agreements; (3) through legislation and government action, both federal and state.

Union rules concerning the calling and termination of strikes were reviewed in the preceding chapter; the following pages discuss the procedures for settling disputes through joint employer-union arrangements and the various types of governmental agencies which intervene in labor disputes.

SETTLEMENT OF GRIEVANCES UNDER EMPLOYER-UNION AGREEMENTS

The signing of an agreement by an employer and union automatically removes some of the major causes of conflict during the time the agreement is in effect. The matter of union recognition has been settled and questions of basic wages, hours and working rules have been agreed upon. The establishment of such a contractual relationship, however, does not entirely remove the possibility of disputes and grievances arising.

Just as in civil government laws must be implemented by machinery for enforcement and interpretation, so employer-union agreements usually provide some procedure for the settlement of disputes and grievances arising over the interpretation and application of their specific terms. Frequently, too, certain clauses in the agreement are purposely made very general, with the expectation that details will be worked out through the joint machinery provided. Thus the agreement may establish only minimum or average wage rates, with the

provision that detailed piece or bonus rates are to be subsequently negotiated in a specified manner as changes occur in production methods or product design.

Practically all union agreements now in effect make some provision for the adjustment of the grievances, misunderstandings and disputes which are bound to arise in the day-to-day working relationship of employers and workers. Experience with collective bargaining has led to a general acceptance of three essentials for the adjustment of such disputes: (1) union-management negotiations, beginning with the foreman in charge of the shop or department where the dispute originates and proceeding up to the highest officials of the company; (2) appeal, if such negotiations fail to secure an adjustment, to an impartial, outside agency or individual; and (3) restriction on strikes and lockouts until these other means of settling the dispute have been exhausted.

The adjustment of disputes under collective bargaining calls for a series of procedural steps carefully outlined in the employer-union agreement. Beginning with negotiations at the point of origin of the dispute, higher union and employer representatives are successively brought into the negotiations. Usually there is provided a final step in the adjustment process, to be used when negotiations between the highest union and company officials have failed to reach a settlement. This final step is almost invariably arbitration by an impartial individual or agency. In some instances continuing joint committees may be established to deal with industrial problems which have proved to be a recurring source of grievance. Throughout all steps in the adjustment process it is understood that strikes and lockouts are to be used only after all other methods provided for the adjustment of the dispute have failed.

Union Representatives. The workers usually select their own representatives to negotiate with the management when a dispute arises. The most common procedure is for the employees in a shop, or in each department of a large plant, to elect one of their own group to serve as shop chairman or steward, who acts as their representative in the initial handling of a grievance. In large plants the chairman or steward may function with a shop committee composed of the shop chairmen elected from the various departments. Occasionally the shop officers

may be appointed by the local union rather than elected by those members of the local who work in the particular shop.

An employee with a grievance generally goes directly to his shop steward, who proceeds to negotiate with the foreman, although in some plants there are optional arrangements: the aggrieved employee may take up the matter with his foreman first and refer it to the shop steward only if he cannot obtain a satisfactory settlement; or he may ask the steward to accompany him to the foreman; or he may turn the matter over to the steward immediately and take no active part himself in the negotiations. Unions prefer to be a party to the negotiating procedure from the start, in order to ensure uniform enforcement and interpretation of the terms of the agreement and general working rules.

Under the terms of many agreements, the stewards and members of the shop committees are placed at the top of the seniority list of the plant or department in which they work. This serves as an inducement to assume the responsibilities of a stewardship, removes fear of discriminatory dismissal because of actions taken in connection with the work of a steward, and safeguards continuity in grievance adjustment personnel. Some companies pay stewards their regular wages for time spent in adjusting grievances, although some limit such compensated time to a specified number of hours per week or only to meetings called by management. In other cases stewards are reimbursed from union treasuries for loss of wages.

In order to secure more effective work from their shop chairmen and committeemen, several unions have instituted educational programs to instruct them in grievance procedure and to provide a means of exchanging ideas and experiences. If the industry is highly centralized, classes, meetings and lectures on adjustment activity may be a regular part of the union's educational activity. Grievance decisions won by a local union are often published and distributed to other locals for their guidance and study. Some unions have issued handbooks for local committeemen, containing, besides records of decisions won and lost by the union, an outline of procedures to be followed and rules to be observed. In this way uniform procedures are developed and local unions are helped to understand their rights and limitations under their agreements.

In the building trades and a few other unions, the shop chairman or steward performs a less important function. Although he may handle

some negotiations with the foreman, the major burden of enforcing the agreement provisions falls upon the business agent. In some instances the shop steward may be merely the medium through which the business agent keeps in close touch with conditions on the job and is informed of disputes as they arise. Although the steward is responsible for securing compliance with the terms of the agreement on a particular job, the business agent has this responsibility for all employers in the same industry throughout the city. The business agent is a paid, full-time officer elected by the members of the local or appointed by a designated union official. He is not an employee of any of the workplaces covered by the union agreement, but usually has a knowledge of the industry through previous employment.

In order to function, the business agent must be able to enter the plants under his jurisdiction during working hours and check up on working conditions at first hand. He may be able to move about freely in the shop or on the job, discussing with the members the observance of the agreement provisions or any disputes which have arisen; in some cases, however, his activities are limited to discussion with the shop chairman or shop committee members, or he may be allowed to go through the shop only when accompanied by a company representative. In practice or by specific provision in the agreement, his visits are timed so as not to interfere with production.

Depending upon the character of the industry, as well as the bargaining tradition of a union, appeal of a dispute to the higher company officials may be handled by the officers of the local union or provision may be made for the active participation of regional or International officers in the final stages of the joint negotiations. Locals organized on a city-wide basis, or including many small workplaces in a given area, ordinarily settle their grievances without reference to their International officers, the business agents dealing with the necessary officials of the companies.

On the other hand, unions in large industrial corporations often reserve the higher stages of grievance appeals to their regional or International representatives. This may be done to take advantage of the more skillful bargaining ability of the higher union officials or because the physical location of the corporation's central office, removed from the site of production, makes it difficult for local union leaders to handle negotiations. Also, when a grievance case reaches the highest company officials, the decision may involve an important principle of union-

management relations, applicable to more locals than the one originally involved in the dispute.

When a case goes to arbitration, the union ordinarily selects the worker representative on the arbitration committee. The extent to which the selection of the union representative is made by the membership or is appointed by a union official or committee varies with local practice. In either case the choice usually falls upon a member in the locality with considerable union experience.

Employer Representatives. The employee's immediate supervisor is ordinarily the first negotiator on behalf of the employer in dispute negotiations with the union. In small establishments, the owner himself may handle the initial negotiations; in large industrial concerns the foreman, the department superintendent, division superintendent, and the plant manager are in turn responsible for dealing with the union. Personnel or labor relations officers, where these are employed, usually take an active part when appeal is taken beyond the foreman, although in some instances the personnel office is involved only after negotiations with the departmental officials have failed to secure a settlement.

A number of agreements authorize appeals to the head office of a large corporation, if a dispute is not settled with the officials of a local plant, but some do not provide for negotiations beyond the plant management. The attitude of the foreman toward the union and his experience in union negotiations often determine the number of grievances that go to higher company officials on appeal. For this reason some large corporations have instituted training courses for foremen and supervisors, instructing them in the terms of the agreement and the rights of workers and management thereunder.

In a number of industries, agreements are made with associations of employers. These may be city-wide, regional, or nation-wide in scope. Although these associations are at times solely for the purpose of negotiating new agreements, they may also serve as enforcement agencies, in which case the association officials help to settle disputes which arise between the union and any employer who is a member of the association. These association officials are elected by the member firms and, like business agents of the union, are men experienced in the industry and familiar with its problems.

Joint Committees. Joint employer-union committees for the adjustment of disputes are provided for in many agreements. The large

majority of these committees are selected only when the need arises to discuss a particular dispute which the parties are unable to settle by direct negotiation. By the appointment of an impartial member, such committees become arbitration agencies, although an effort is usually made to settle the case prior to calling in any outside party. Union agreements, particularly those with associations of employers, often establish joint committees on a continuing basis, to function throughout the life of the agreement.

When the agreement covers more than a single city, joint machinery may function over a wide area and in industries which have agreements covering virtually the entire industry, the joint machinery operates for the entire industry. For example, the agreement in the pottery industry refers disputes to a standing committee composed of representatives of the association and of the union. For many years there has been a permanent board of conciliation in the anthracite industry which has research and administrative functions in addition to that of settling disputes arising under the agreement. Highly developed joint machinery is found in the garment industry, where, because of the nature of the industry, which is characterized by seasonal fluctuations, style changes, complex piece-rate structures, and subcontracting, the day-to-day settling of these problems is necessary to ensure a smoothly functioning employer-union relationship.

Arbitration by Impartial Agencies. The great majority of union agreements make provision for referring a dispute arising over the interpretation or application of the agreement to an impartial person or agency for arbitration, in the event the parties to the dispute are unable to settle the matter. In the few agreements which do not provide for arbitration, there may be provision for referring the dispute to a state or federal agency for conciliation or mediation. Although this brings the assistance and prestige of experienced negotiators into the proceedings, it does not automatically provide a decision which must be accepted.

The most common form of outside reference is through the selection of an impartial chairman by a committee on which both sides are equally represented. The chairman may be selected to function with the committee from the beginning or may be added only after the joint committee has failed to make an adjustment. Some agreements do not leave the selection of an arbitrator until the time when the dispute

gets to the stage of arbitration, but specify an individual who is to act as arbitrator as needed throughout the life of the agreement. The selection of the impartial arbitrators, in the event the representatives of the two parties cannot agree upon a choice, is sometimes referred to governmental agencies, such as the United States Conciliation Service or a state arbitration board. The American Arbitration Association, a private agency, is sometimes asked to appoint an impartial referee to settle a dispute. No matter what kind of arbitration agency exists, the cost is usually borne jointly by the employer and the union concerned.

As a rule, unadjusted disputes may be referred to arbitration upon the request of either the employer or the union; in practice, this ensures automatic arbitration whenever a dispute is not mutually resolved. Under the terms of a few agreements, both parties must agree to have a matter referred to arbitration, which means that the party satisfied with the *status quo* is able to prevent recourse to arbitration. Since it is usually the union that is seeking redress, under the latter type of arbitration referral the union must either decide to accept the management's decision or resort to economic pressure and call a strike.

The arbitrators hold hearings and take testimony and occasionally make independent investigations of the facts. In order to avoid unnecessary delays, a time limit is generally set for each step in the process—the selection of arbitrators, the conduct of hearings, and the rendering of decisions. Some agreements provide for a decision by default if either party fails to nominate its representatives or refuses to cooperate with the arbitrators. The decision of the arbitrator is, of course, final and binding on both parties. Enforcement of the decision may be secured through resort to the strike or lockout, noncompliance being the only occasion when stoppages of work are not considered a violation of the agreement. Arbitrators' decisions have occasionally been taken to the courts for enforcement, although workers usually prefer to use the strike weapon in preference to long-drawn-out litigation. Whenever the agreement is with an employers' association, the association officials are held responsible for the compliance of member companies.

Strikes While an Agreement Is in Effect. Correlative to provisions for arbitration are provisions restricting stoppages of work during the life of the agreement. The most common provision completely prohibits work stoppages of any nature, although many agreements merely restrict the conditions under which a strike may take place. Such regu-

lations, of course, refer only to stoppages during the life of the agreement; they could not cover disputes which might arise at the termination of an agreement and during negotiations for a new agreement.

In the industries where bargaining is conducted with employers' associations, the strike has been accepted as a means of enforcing the agreement against recalcitrant members of the association and in such cases strikes do not constitute a violation of the agreement. Aside from such specific exceptions, a number of other agreements do not prohibit strikes altogether but only after dispute negotiations as provided in the agreement have been exhausted. This is usually the case where there is no provision for arbitration, since the unions generally refuse to give up the right to strike unless there are adequate safeguards, otherwise, for the enforcement of the agreement and the adjustment of grievances.

ADJUSTMENT OF DISPUTES THROUGH GOVERNMENT ACTION

Employer-employee disputes fall into four general categories: (1) those caused by conflicting interpretation or the nonobservance of the terms of the employer-union agreement; (2) jurisdictional disputes between two or more unions as to which shall have jurisdiction over certain jobs or kinds of work; (3) those concerning conditions of employment—wages, hours, working rules, etc.—when such have not already been agreed upon and the terms embodied in a collective agreement; (4) disputes concerning bargaining agent, union recognition, and other issues connected with collective bargaining per se.

As indicated previously, disputes in the first category should not develop into strikes or lockouts, since all disputes arising while an agreement is in effect should be peaceably settled by the machinery provided in the agreement. Likewise, unions have established various procedures to adjust jurisdictional disputes, although these have not always prevented strikes from taking place. A large majority of strikes occur as a result of disputes over the terms to be included in new agreements: wages, hours and working conditions, as well as over questions of union recognition.¹ Government agencies are widely utilized in

¹ During recent years, until our entry into the war, more than half the strikes which occurred each year were due to disputes over union recognition, closed shop and related matters, and less than a third were over wages, hours, etc. With the rise in cost of living, and especially after the Anti-inflation Act (Oct. 2, 1942) and governmental efforts to keep wages at existing levels, the proportion of wage disputes greatly increased. (See p. 219.)

the prevention of strikes over these major issues and in the settlement of such strikes after they once occur.

Governmental agencies for the adjustment of labor disputes are of two general types: (1) mediation and conciliation agencies, which have no legal powers to compel acceptance of their recommendations and which may not even have the legal right to intervene if the parties in dispute do not request their assistance; (2) boards and commissions empowered to administer and enforce specific laws concerning employer-employee relations and working conditions.

Federal Conciliation Service. The present United States Conciliation Service was established under the act passed in 1913 which created the United States Department of Labor, providing among other things that "the Secretary of Labor shall have the power to act as mediator and to appoint commissioners of conciliation in labor disputes whenever in his judgment the interests of industrial peace may require it to be done." The conciliation commissioners are engaged in efforts to settle questions in dispute before strikes and lockouts occur, or to bring them to a speedy settlement if they have already started. The Conciliation Service may enter a case at the request of either party to the dispute, or at the request of some representative of the public—mayor, governor, congressman. It may also intervene upon its own motion, but this is done only in the more serious disputes when it is believed that a public interest is involved.

Although the original act gave power to mediate in any kind of dispute, the conciliation commissioners have no power of coercion or means to enforce their recommendations. Acceptance of the commissioner's service is optional, and his recommendations may or may not be adopted. The results he obtains are dependent entirely upon the prestige of his office, the assistance he can render by reason of his knowledge of the facts involved in the dispute, his skill as a negotiator, and the willingness of the opposing parties to come to terms of agreement. The Conciliation Service is primarily concerned not with the rights and mechanics of collective bargaining as such, but with the disputes which arise over the terms to be included in a collective agreement or the interpretation and application of the provisions of the agreement after it is once made.² The service is also frequently called

²In many of the European countries before the war there were special legal and quasi-legal arrangements for the arbitration of disputes arising over the

upon to settle jurisdictional disputes, most of these being in the construction industry.

A commissioner of conciliation has no set formula of procedure when he is called in to help settle a dispute. Whenever possible, he tries to get the parties concerned to discuss their differences in conference, in which case he acts as a conciliator. Frequently, especially during the early stages, either or both parties refuse to meet together. He then acts as a mediator, holding separate conferences with the respective sides, adjusting the minor points of misunderstandings or differences, and getting each to agree upon what major points can be or shall be further negotiated. If either or both sides still refuse to discuss together these major points, the commissioner may draft a plan of settlement independently and submit it to the parties as a recommendation, or he may obtain the approval of both sides to have the matter arbitrated. He may be asked to select an arbitrator or the parties may request him to serve as arbitrator himself. As an arbitrator, of course, his decisions are final and must be accepted by both parties in accordance with their voluntary agreement to accept such arbitration.

State Conciliation Services. State machinery for the adjustment of labor disputes antedates the Federal Conciliation Service; those in Massachusetts and New York, for instance, have been functioning since 1886. The concern of most state governments with employer-employee relations, however, has fluctuated with the increase and decline of labor disputes and in only a few states has there been any continuing, consistent program for the prevention and settlement of strikes and lockouts. More generally, when there has been a sharp rise in union activity and workers have shown a disposition to make known their discontent and desires, the state government has hastily passed legislation in an attempt to meet the situation. During periods when there have been few disputes, such legislation has been all but forgotten.

With the recent increase in union activity and industrial disputes, many states have interested themselves in employer-employee relations. Eight states have enacted labor relations acts;³ many more have passed

interpretation of an agreement, called "disputes on rights," and the conciliation or arbitration of disputes over terms of a new agreement, called "disputes on interests."

³ The New York, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Utah laws are modeled after the National Labor Relations Act. The Minnesota and Michigan laws and

anti-injunction laws similar to the Norris-LaGuardia Act, which restricts court injunctions in labor disputes and makes "yellow dog" contracts unenforceable in federal courts. Five states have laws requiring a specified number of days' notification to a state agency before stoppages of work may take place.⁴ None of these laws makes arbitration mandatory, and a strike or lockout may take place after the notification period if a settlement satisfactory to both parties has not been effected.

There is a great deal of variation among the several state mediation agencies in their mechanical arrangements, legal powers, and the financial and moral support given them. The most common arrangement is for the conciliation service to be a part of the state labor department or industrial commission, the conciliators usually having other duties when not engaged in the work of settling disputes. A number of states have tripartite boards appointed by the governor. While these may be permanent boards, the individual members in some instances serve only upon occasion and are paid on a per diem basis. In such cases the boards work in close co-operation with the regular labor department, usually being called to service upon its request. In only a few of the more important industrial states are there full-time conciliation and arbitration boards. Several states have no permanent machinery, but provide that the labor department or the governor shall appoint a conciliation committee as the occasion arises or when there is a particularly grave dispute.

The procedure in some states resembles the federal arrangement by sharply differentiating disputes arising over questions of union organization and collective bargaining from those arising over questions of wages, hours and working conditions. The former are handled by state labor relations boards with quasi-judicial powers, while the latter come

the revised Wisconsin and Pennsylvania laws are radically different in some respects—chiefly in their designation of certain union activities as "unfair labor practices." These sections are considered by labor to jeopardize rather than protect the rights of organized labor as is the purpose of the NLRA.

⁴The Colorado law, which was enacted as early as 1915 requires 30 days' notice. The Michigan and Minnesota laws of 1939 require a 5-day and a 10-day notice, respectively, in general industry, and a 30-day notice in industries "affected with the public interest." The 1939 Wisconsin law requires a 10-day notice but covers only strikes affecting the harvesting and initial processing of farm and dairy products. The 1941 Georgia law, requiring 30 days' notice, excepts some seasonal industries as well as those covered by the Railway Labor Act. For a further discussion on the effectiveness of these strike notice laws see Howard S. Kaltenborn's *Governmental Adjustment of Labor Disputes*, The Foundation Press, Inc., Chicago, 1943.

under the state conciliation service. In other states which have labor relations laws, there is no such distinction and the same agency attempts to settle all kinds of disputes, those arising from unfair labor practices and questions over union organization, as well as those over specific terms of employment such as wages and hours.

Most generally the state agency intervenes only upon the request of one or both parties to the dispute, although a few of the laws specify that the agency shall on its own motion investigate disputes wherever "public interest is material." Some of the laws require that a minimum number of persons, usually ten, must be involved in a dispute before the state agency shall intervene. Others specify that there shall be state intervention only when asked by a designated number of private citizens, the local government officials, the employer, or a majority of the employees involved in the dispute.

Since the Kansas experiment in 1920,⁵ no state has attempted to compel the parties to a dispute to accept the recommendations of the conciliation agency unless the parties have agreed beforehand to abide by its determinations. In some instances, a degree of pressure is exerted by permitting or requiring the board to publish a written report with recommendations. A few specify that, if conciliation fails and the parties refuse to arbitrate, the state agency shall request a sworn statement from each party of the facts in dispute and their reasons for not arbitrating, which statement shall be for public use. Several state laws go still further by providing that the state board shall prepare and pub-

⁵ The only experience this country has had with statutory compulsory arbitration was that of the Kansas Court of Industrial Relations, which functioned from 1920 to 1923. This court was given jurisdiction in disputes arising in the public utilities, coal, food, and clothing industries, wherein strikes were altogether prohibited. The three-man court, appointed by the governor, had power to fix wages and conditions of employment in these industries.

Labor, particularly the Kansas district of the United Mine Workers, bitterly opposed the establishment of the court. Several of the union leaders were given jail sentences when they defied the antistrike clause of the Act by calling a number of strikes. Some employers also refused to put into effect its wage and hour decisions. The United States Supreme Court sustained these employers, holding that the fixing of wages and hours, rules and regulations by such an agency was contrary to the due process clause of the fourteenth amendment in that it "curtailed the right of the employer, on the one hand, and of the employee, on the other, to contract about his affairs." Before even the first of the Supreme Court decisions was rendered, the Industrial Relations Court had practically ceased to function, because of the increasing opposition and indifference of the employers, workers, and public. In 1925 the court was abolished altogether.

lish its findings, placing the blame by designating which party is mainly responsible for the existence and continuance of the dispute. Such provisions for the bringing of pressure of public opinion upon the situation are as far as any of the existing state laws have gone to compel acceptance of the recommendations made by their conciliation agencies. In actual practice, state agencies have rarely issued public statements condemning or placing blame on one party to a labor dispute.

If the parties to a dispute voluntarily agree to have the state board act as arbitrator, then the law usually specifies that the awards shall be binding. After arbitration is once accepted, strikes and lockouts are generally forbidden during the time of investigation and the board is usually given power to subpoena books and records and to require desired persons to appear as witnesses. In practice, it may be said that this subpoena power is seldom used, even in the states which have the greatest number of disputes and the most active arbitration agencies. The law usually specifies that the board's decision and award shall be binding for one year, although some limit the enforcement to three months or six months, or until thirty days or sixty days after notice is given that the party will not be bound by the terms.

National (Railroad) Mediation Board. Labor relations on the railroads at the present time are governed by the 1934 amendments to the 1926 Railway Labor Act. These created a three-man National Mediation Board, appointed by the President, and a National Railroad Adjustment Board, consisting of 18 carrier representatives and 18 union representatives. The Adjustment Board, with headquarters in Chicago, is divided into four separate divisions, each of which has jurisdiction over a distinct class of employees, namely, train and yard service, shop crafts, etc.

In this arrangement for the handling of labor relations on the railroads, a clear distinction is made with respect to the basic differences in the character of labor disputes; that is, those over the interpretation and application of existing agreements and those over terms of a new agreement—wages, hours and working conditions, and questions concerning bargaining units and representation agencies.

The Adjustment Board handles disputes "growing out of grievances or out of the interpretation or application of agreements concerning rates of pay, rules, or working conditions." The decisions of the Adjustment Board may be enforced by civil suits in federal district courts. If

the bipartisan board is unable to agree, it must appoint a referee; if it cannot agree in a selection, the National Mediation Board appoints such referee.

The National Mediation Board takes care of the other two classes of disputes. Through holding elections or by other means it certifies who shall represent the workers in their collective bargaining. On request of either party to a dispute involving changes in pay, rules or working conditions, or on its own motion in cases of emergency, it intervenes and through mediation attempts to bring about an agreement. If its mediating efforts fail, the board attempts to induce the parties to submit their controversy to arbitration, the arbitration board to be selected by the parties concerned. If they cannot agree on the selection, the Mediation Board is authorized to name the members of the board.

If arbitration is refused by either party, and the dispute should "threaten substantially to interrupt interstate commerce to a degree such as to deprive any section of the country of essential transportation service," the board is required to notify the President, who may appoint an emergency board to investigate the facts and report thereon within thirty days. During this time no change, except by agreement, may be made by the parties to the controversy in the conditions out of which the dispute arose. While the law does not require compliance with the recommendations of the emergency board, the publication of the findings of fact of such a board makes it difficult for either party not to follow its suggestions.

National Labor Relations Board. The National Labor Relations Board is a nonpartisan, quasi-judicial board of three members appointed by the President, independent of any other department of the government, to develop and administer the National Labor Relations Act enacted in 1935. This act guarantees employees "the right to self-organization, to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, and to engage in activities for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection."

To implement these rights, employers are "prohibited from engaging in certain specific unfair labor practices, namely to interfere with, restrain, or coerce employees in the exercise of their collective bargaining rights; To dominate or interfere with the formation or administration of any labor organization or contribute financial or other support to it; By discrimination in regard to hire or tenure of employment or any

term or condition of employment, to encourage or discourage membership in any labor organization; To discharge or otherwise discriminate against an employee because he has filed charges or given testimony under the act; To refuse to bargain collectively with the duly chosen representatives of the employees."

In pursuance of the provisions of the act, the board's activities are of two general types: (a) determining and certifying employees' collective bargaining agents and (b) preventing employers from engaging in unfair labor practices. The board is empowered upon complaint to investigate charges of unfair labor practices, to hold formal public hearings, to issue subpoenas requesting the attendance and testimony of witnesses and the production of any written evidence, to issue cease and desist orders from unfair labor practices, to determine the appropriate bargaining unit, (that is, whether single or multiple plant or company, craft, or department unit, etc.) and to conduct elections or otherwise to determine which union, if any, a majority of the employees have selected as their bargaining agent.

The orders of the board are not self-enforcing. To secure compliance, the board must petition the appropriate Circuit Court of Appeals and file with that court the record taken before the board. The court is authorized to make a decree enforcing, modifying or setting aside the board's order in whole or in part. In like manner, any person aggrieved by a final order of the board may obtain a similar review by filing in the appropriate Court of Appeals a petition that the order be modified or set aside.

To expedite its work, the board has 22 regional offices located throughout the country. These offices handle all cases except those involving general policy, complex factual or legal problems, or new principles, which are referred to the board in Washington.

According to the board's recent annual reports, an average of more than 9,000 cases are filed with its national and regional offices each year—about twice as many representation as unfair labor practice cases. A considerable number are withdrawn or dismissed after investigation, and in about 500 cases a year the petitioning union is unsuccessful in obtaining a majority vote. Various unions are certified in an average of about 4,000 plants or bargaining units each year, and remedial action against employer unfair labor practices has been effected in approximately 2,000 cases a year. In less than a hundred instances a year has it been necessary for the board to resort to court action for enforcement of its orders.

National War Labor Board. In times of war the government must take unusual measures to minimize strikes which interfere with war production. During World War I a separate labor board was created for each of the more important industries and a National War Labor Board was established as a supreme tribunal for appeals from the industry boards. While these boards had no legal powers of compulsion, their prestige and the pressure of public opinion were effective in preventing many strikes and in settling promptly many of the strikes which occurred.⁶

In March, 1941, ten months before our entry into the present war, the President created a National Defense Mediation Board to adjust those disputes which the Department of Labor's Conciliation Service was unable to handle. A semblance of compulsion lay in the board's authority to investigate, to conduct hearings, and to make public its recommendations and findings. Through the exercise of such formal proceedings it could bring the weight of public opinion on the recalcitrant party. Also, the fear of losing public contracts exercised a salutary influence. The board was composed of eleven members—four management, four labor, and three public representatives—the labor representatives being equally divided between the AFL and the CIO.

In November, 1941, the CIO members resigned following an adverse decision.⁷ This, together with the added necessity for uninterrupted production following Pearl Harbor, caused President Roosevelt to summon a conference of labor, employer and government representatives to formulate means for eliminating strikes and lockouts. This conference agreed that for the duration of the war there should be no strikes or lockouts and that all labor disputes should be settled by peaceful means, and that a board should be established to dispose finally of those disputes which could not be settled through voluntary conciliation.

The President thereupon established the National War Labor Board, authorizing it to intervene in any dispute certified to it by the Secretary of Labor, or on its own motion after consultation with the Secretary, and finally to settle such disputes "which might interrupt work

⁶ Bureau of Labor Statistics Bulletin 287, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.; Alexander Bing, *War Time Strikes and Their Adjustment*, Dutton, New York, 1921.

⁷ The Board refused to grant a union shop in certain sections of the coal industry. The President thereupon appointed a special arbitration board which granted the union shop.

which contributes to the effective prosecution of the war.⁸ In October, 1942, the board's jurisdiction and duties were expanded to include "all industries and all employees" and to pass upon all changes in wage rates or in salaries up to \$5,000 a year, whether or not a dispute was involved.⁹

The National War Labor Board is composed of twelve members appointed by the President, four representing the public, four representing management, and four representing labor—two each from the AFL and the CIO. The labor and industry members and their alternates are part-time employees of the government, while the four public members and their alternates are full-time government employees with fixed salaries. Six voting members, two from each group, make up a quorum.

Early in 1943, to take care of the added volume of work resulting from the wage stabilization program, twelve regional offices were established, each with a tripartite board similar in composition to the national board. These regional boards have full authority to make final decisions in labor disputes although any party, under certain specified conditions, has the right to petition the national board for a review of the case. The regional boards also pass upon voluntary wage and salary adjustments, except that the national board reserves the right to review, and deny, the determinations of the regional boards. The national board handles major cases involving an entire industry or area broader than one region, as well as determines general policies.

In line with the principle that there shall be no strikes or lockouts during the war, the board insists that work be continued, or resumed if a stoppage has already occurred, while it is considering the case. The board's orders are binding. If either party refuses to comply, the case is turned over to the President, who as a last measure may order the plant taken over by the government. The War Labor Disputes Act, enacted in June, 1943, reaffirmed the board's powers and duties and in addition gave it power to issue subpoenas requiring the attendance and testimony of witnesses and production of any documents which it considered necessary in the determination of a case.

⁸ Executive Order 9017, Jan. 12, 1942.

⁹ Executive Order 9250, Oct. 3, 1942, "Provide for the Stabilization of the National Economy." This order gave the board authority to grant wage increases above the level of Sept. 15, 1942, only if such increases were "necessary to correct maladjustments or inequalities, to eliminate substandards of living, to correct gross inequities, or to aid in the effective prosecution of the war."

Part V. GLOSSARY OF LABOR TERMS AND UNIONS IN EACH INDUSTRY

CHAPTER XV

GLOSSARY OF LABOR TERMS

THE following glossary contains definitions and explanations of 260 words, terms and basic laws pertaining to labor and labor unions. While many of these terms have a wider application, this glossary is limited to explaining their usage in connection with working conditions, unions and collective bargaining.

ACCIDENT RATE. A measure of frequency of industrial injuries, the standard formula being the total number of disabling injuries per 1 million employee-hours worked.

ACCELERATING PREMIUM. A form of incentive wage system which provides increasingly larger percentage premiums at progressively higher levels of production. (See Incentive Wages)

ADAMSON ACT. Act passed in 1916 which establishes the eight-hour day as a basis for computing wages of railway employees.

ANNUAL WAGES. Sometimes used in a general sense to refer to total earnings received during a year; more particularly used in connection with plans whereby workers are guaranteed a minimum amount of wages or employment each year. (See Guaranteed Employment)

AGREEMENT. (See Collective Agreement)

ALLOWED TIME. Under incentive wage systems, the number of minutes allowed for tool care, personal needs and fatigue, which is added to operating time in establishing job standards or "task" as a basis for determining piece rates or incentive bonuses. (See also "Dead" Time).

ANTI-INJUNCTION LAW (NORRIS-LA GUARDIA ACT). An act passed in 1932 which (a) regulates the issuance of injunctions by federal courts in labor disputes by prohibiting the enjoining of certain acts and by laying down certain conditions which must be satisfied before other acts can be enjoined; (b) makes yellow-dog contracts unenforceable; (c) specifies that no union officer shall be held responsible for acts committed during a labor dispute unless there is clear proof he authorized such act; (d) pro-

vides for trial by jury of any person charged with contempt of court in a case arising under the act except contempts committed in and near the presence of the court.

ANTI-KICKBACK LAW. A federal law enacted in 1934 which imposes a penalty on any employer (or agent of the employer) who by force, intimidation, threat of dismissal, or by any other means induces any person employed on public construction work, or on work financed in whole or in part by federal funds, to give back any part of his compensation.

ANTILABOR LEGISLATION. Federal and state laws and municipal ordinances which organized labor considers inimical to the interests of wage earners; more especially, legislation which seeks to restrict the activities and status of labor unions.

ANTI-STRIKE BILL. (See War Labor Disputes Act)

ANTI-STRIKEBREAKING ACT (BYRNES ACT). A federal law passed in 1936 which prohibits the interstate transportation of "any person who is employed or is to be employed for the purpose of obstructing or interfering by force or threats with the peaceful picketing by employees during a labor controversy, or the exercise by employees of any of the rights of self-organization or collective bargaining." (See Strikebreakers)

APPRENTICE. A young person training for a skilled trade through a comprehensive program of graduated experience on the job combined with individual or classroom instruction. (See also Learner)

APPRENTICESHIP COMMITTEE. A committee composed of journeymen or a joint committee of employer and union representatives appointed to administer an apprenticeship program. (See also Federal Committee on Apprenticeship)

ARBITRATION. The process of referring disputes between employers and employees (or between two rival unions) to the decision of impartial adjudicators. While an arbitrator's decision is legally binding, arbitration differs from judicial processes in several important respects: (a) the disputants have voluntarily agreed to refer the matter to arbitration and have themselves selected the arbitrator, except in rare cases, as during wartime, when the government may require and appoint arbitrators; (b) while the arbitrator holds hearings, these are usually much less formal than court proceedings. Also, the arbitrator does not rely solely upon the presentations at these hearings but if he deems it necessary he may make independent investigations. (See Compulsory Arbitration, Impartial Chairman, Umpire)

AREA AGREEMENT. An employer-union agreement which covers all or most of the establishments and workers in a given industry within a geographical region, usually more extensive than a city or metropolitan center. Unlike an association agreement it is signed individually by each employer concerned. (See also Association, Master, Standard Agreement)

ASSESSMENTS. A monthly, annual, or single charge levied by the union on each of its members for a special purpose not covered by regular dues. Rules regarding the levying of assessments are found in union constitutions and by-laws.

ASSOCIATION AGREEMENT. An agreement negotiated and signed by an employers' association, on behalf of its members, with a union or a joint board representing several unions. An association agreement may cover all or most of the employers within an industry throughout the country or in a single city or locality. (See also Area, Master, Standard Agreement)

AUTOMATIC CHECKOFF. (See Checkoff)

AUTOMATIC WAGE ADJUSTMENT. A plan whereby wage rates are raised or lowered according to an established formula in response to other specified changes such as changes in the cost of living, prevailing wages, business profits or prices. Usually refers to wage levels throughout the plant, although it may refer to a system of increasing employees' wages according to their individual service records or adjustments in piece rates. (See also Longevity Pay, Permissive Wage Adjustment)

BACK PAY. Wages due an employee for past services, usually representing the difference between money already received and a higher amount resulting from a change in wage rates following an arbitrator's decision, enforcement of a legal minimum, or adjustment of piece rates. (See also Hold-back Pay)

BACKTRACKING. (See Bumping)

BARGAINING RIGHTS. Generally used with reference to workers' rights to bargain collectively with their employers as established by law and judicial interpretations. (See Collective Bargaining, National Labor Relations Act, Railway Labor Act)

BARGAINING UNIT. A group of employees who voluntarily, or by decision of a government agency such as the NLRB, form an "appropriate" unit for bargaining collectively with their employer (or employers). Such units may be composed of workers in a single craft, or include all or most workers in an entire plant or numerous plants within an area or entire industry.

BASE RATE. Under incentive wage systems, the rate for the established task or job standard, production beyond standard bringing extra pay. The base rate usually represents the 100 per cent point for measuring the incentive bonus. Base rate is also used to denote the "regular" rate on timework, that is, the established rate per hour for the job exclusive of extras resulting from merit or service increases, overtime or shift differentials, etc. (See "Standard Time," Piecework, Incentive Wages, Wages)

BEDAUX WAGE SYSTEM. An incentive wage plan whereby performance is measured in terms of minutes called "B's" (60 B's constituting the task

per hour), and premiums are paid for B's accomplished in excess of established task.

BIDDING. System of having vacant jobs posted on bulletin boards or otherwise circularized, with present employees having the privilege of applying on basis of their seniority.

BLACKLIST. A list of names of union leaders and members secretly maintained and exchanged by employers and employers' associations for the purpose of keeping such persons from obtaining employment.

BONUS. Any payment in addition to regular or base wages. It may be in the form of a Christmas bonus or other annual allotment or it may refer to extra rates paid for nightwork, overtime, hazardous work, etc. Also used in connection with incentive wage systems to designate amounts earned in excess of base or guaranteed rates. (See Premium Pay, Penalty Rates, Shift Differentials, and Overtime)

BOYCOTT. A concerted effort to withhold and to induce others to withhold the purchase of goods or services of an employer accused of objectionable labor practices. It was first used by the tenant farmers of an Irish landlord named Boycott and was later adopted by both British and American organized labor movements as a weapon in labor disputes. At times unions have adopted general boycotts against all unorganized employers in an industry; more generally, however, boycotts have been restricted to specific employers who were actively opposing the union.

Although there is no clear line of distinction, the terms "primary" and "secondary" boycott are sometimes used. The latter applies to efforts to induce parties not directly involved in the dispute to refrain from patronizing an "unfair" employer; thus, workers may refuse to handle or work on any materials, equipment or supplies produced or delivered by non-union workers, or a union may declare a boycott against a retail store which sells a product manufactured in a plant where a dispute was in progress.

BROKEN TIME. (See Split Shift)

BROTHERHOOD. A title used by some of the older International and National unions, especially the railroad unions, which were originally established primarily as fraternal and benefit organizations.

BUMPING. During layoffs, the displacing of junior employees by workers of longer service; sometimes referred to as "backtracking."

BUSINESS AGENT. A person employed by a local union to assist in negotiating agreements with the employer, help settle grievances, and see that both employers and members observe the terms of the agreement. While a business agent's duties are similar to those of a union steward, the latter are company employees who continue to work at their regular jobs, while a business agent is a full-time representative of the union. Business agents are most common in the building trades unions. (See Steward)

CALL-BACK PAY. Extra rate paid to employees who have left the plant and are recalled for some emergency work.

CALL PAY. The guarantee of payment of a specified number of hours' wages to employees when they report for work at their usual time and find no work to do.

CAPTIVE MINES. Coal mines whose output is used almost exclusively by the companies which own them.

CASUAL WORKERS. Workers employed for short periods of time who attain no seniority status with either the employer or the union. When employed in a closed shop they are given a permit card by the union. (See Decasualization)

CERTIFICATION OF UNION. An official action or order of the proper government agency (for example, the National Labor Relations Board) specifying that a union is free from employer domination and includes a majority of the employees in its membership, and hence must be recognized by the employer as the collective bargaining agent for all the employees in the collective bargaining unit.

CHAPEL. In the printing trades unions, a subordinate unit of a local union which is composed of members within a single shop.

CHECKOFF. System under which the employer, by agreement with the union, deducts union dues and assessments from the pay of union members and turns the funds over to the union. Some agreements establish an automatic checkoff for all union members (sometimes called compulsory checkoff), while others require checkoff only for those employees who individually authorize the employer to make such deductions (sometimes called Voluntary Checkoff).

CHECKWEIGHMAN. In coal mining, one who weighs or measures the coal produced by each miner who is paid on a tonnage basis.

CITY CENTRAL. An organization composed of the various AFL locals within the city or metropolitan area. Variouslly called Central Labor Union, Central Labor Council, Central Trades Council, Federated Trades & Labor Council, etc.

CITY INDUSTRIAL UNION COUNCIL. An organization composed of the various CIO locals within the city or metropolitan area.

CLOSED SHOP. An agreement between an employer and a union which specifies that no persons shall be employed who are not members of the union and that all employees must continue to be members in good standing throughout their period of employment. (See also Union Shop)

CLOSED UNION. A union which, through prohibitive initiation fees or restrictive membership rules, seeks to limit its membership or to keep certain persons from becoming members in order to protect job opportunities for present members.

COLLECTIVE AGREEMENT. A contract signed by an employer (or his repre-

sentative) and a union specifying the terms and conditions of employment of those covered by the contract, the status or relation of the union to the employer, and the procedures to be used for settling disputes arising during the term of the contract.

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING. The process of employer-union negotiation for the purpose of reaching agreement as to the terms and conditions of employment for a specified period. (See also Bargaining Rights, Bargaining Unit)

COMPANY STORE. A retail store owned and operated by a company primarily engaged in other business for the use of its employees and their families. Term is sometimes given a more limited meaning to refer to stores in company towns, or where wages are paid in scrip redeemable at the company store, or where other coercive measures are used to compel employee patronage.

COMPANY TOWNS. A community inhabited solely or chiefly by the employees of a single company which owns a substantial part of all the real estate and homes. Typically, company towns are unincorporated and are usually isolated from other communities. The isolation may be due to natural reasons, for example, mining and lumber towns, or it may be due to the employer's desire to escape unionization or avoid higher taxes and wages. In a typical company town the employer is the landlord, town manager, merchant and banker; he directly or indirectly finances and controls the police, the schools, the churches, and other places of assembly.

COMPANY UNION. Structurally and technically an employee organization whose membership is confined to the employees of a single plant or company as contrasted with labor unions which have a broad regional, national or international coverage. Since such employee associations, or "representation plans" as they were frequently called before the passage of the National Labor Relations Act, were frequently established and largely administered by employers to forestall unionization, the term "company union" is commonly regarded as being synonymous to "company-dominated union."

COMPULSORY ARBITRATION. The process of settlement of employer-labor disputes by a government agency (or other means provided by the government) which has the power to investigate and make an award which must be accepted by all parties concerned; not to be confused with voluntary agreements between employers and unions to have their disputes submitted for final determination by an impartial agency. (See Arbitration, Impartial Chairman, Umpire, War Labor Disputes Act)

COMPULSORY CHECKOFF. (See Checkoff)

COMPULSORY UNION MEMBERSHIP. Applied to closed or union shops

where employees must be or become members of the union as a condition of employment. (See Closed Shop, Union Shop)

CONCILIATION. An attempt to settle disputes between employers and workers. The term is used interchangeably with "mediation" although technically, mediation is a more passive act of intervention. In the narrow sense, a mediator is a go-between who offers no advice and who may conceivably be able to effect agreement between parties who refuse to face each other. A conciliator, on the other hand, gets the disputants together and takes an active part in the discussions by offering suggestions and advice. Acceptance of the conciliator's recommendations, however, is voluntary. (See Arbitration, Mediation)

CONTINUOUS PROCESS. A term applied to jobs which by their very nature require uninterrupted operation and thus necessitate round-the-clock work scheduling, that is, multiple shifts. Not to be confused, however, with multiple-shift schedules established for the sole purpose of increasing production. (See Shift)

CONTRACTING. A system of having portions of the manufacturing processes sublet to contractors; common in the clothing and automobile industries.

CO-OPERATION. (See Union-Management Co-operation)

COST-OF-LIVING INDEX. A measure of the change in cost of goods purchased at retail, rents and services used by families of wage earners and lower salaried workers. The most widely known index, that of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, is issued every month and represents the average change in prices of living essentials in representative large cities.

COVERAGE OF AGREEMENT. All employees, whether or not they are union members, who work under the terms provided in the agreement; also plants or companies which have jointly signed an agreement. (See Association Agreement, Bargaining Unit)

CRAFT UNION. A labor organization whose jurisdiction is limited to one or several allied skilled trades. (See Industrial Union)

CUTBACK. A sudden reduction in work resulting in layoffs.

CYCICAL DEPRESSION. Periodic recession in general business activity resulting in widespread and prolonged unemployment; contrasted to seasonal depressions which occur in some industries more or less regularly once or twice a year.

DAVIS-BACON ACT. (See Prevailing Wage Law)

DAYWORK. Usually refers to work where wages are a fixed amount per hour or day in contrast to incentive or piecework. Also used to designate day shifts under multiple-shift arrangements, or casual labor in contrast to employment having some degree of permanence.

DEADHEADING. In the transportation industries, the process of taking

empty cars, trucks and buses to a terminal or other station. In some other industries the term is used in connection with the practice of not promoting (deadheading) a person where seniority entitles him to a higher position, but who is not qualified to do the work, and allowing junior employees to move around him.

"DEAD" TIME. Lost time for which the employee is not responsible (machine breakdowns, delay in receiving materials, etc.) and for which he usually is paid his regular wages. (See also Allowed Time)

DECASUALIZATION. Most commonly applied to longshoring where centralized hiring halls are substituted for the "shape-up," thus tending to regularize the work of individual longshoremen.

DISCHARGE. Involuntary dismissal of an employee for cause. A discharged employee, unlike one laid off, loses his seniority rights to re-employment.

DISCRIMINATION. Unfair treatment of a particular group or individual in matters affecting their employment status: employer discrimination against union members in hiring, layoff or promotion; employer or union discrimination against accepting Negroes.

DISMISSAL WAGE. Payment by the employer of a sum of money to an employee who is permanently and involuntarily laid off through no fault of his own; usually based on length of service and in the form either of a lump sum payment or weekly payments equivalent to a specified per cent of wages for a given number of weeks.

DISPUTE. A controversy between an employer and employees (or union) that is sufficiently serious to be referred to an arbitrator or government agency for settlement or to threaten or cause a work stoppage. Sometimes used as synonymous to strike or lockout but more frequently given the broader connotation to include threatened as well as actual strikes. (See also Strike)

DOWN PERIODS. Brief shutdowns for purposes of cleaning and repairing.

DISTRICT COUNCIL. (See Joint Council)

DUAL PAY SYSTEM. A wage system in the transportation industries whereby employees are paid on a dual mileage and hours basis: a day's wages based on a specified number of hours or miles, whichever is greater, depending upon the speed of the train.

EARNINGS. Total remuneration for services rendered or time worked, including overtime, bonuses and commissions, and other premium pay. (See also Wages, Incentive Wages, "Real" Wages)

EMPLOYEE ASSOCIATIONS. Usually refers to worker organizations whose membership consists of employees of a single company. (See Company Union)

ESCAPE CLAUSE. Under maintenance-of-membership awards of the National War Labor Board, the specified period (usually 15 days) during

which members may resign from the union. (See Maintenance of Membership)

FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT (Wage and Hour Act). A federal act passed in 1938 which establishes minimum wages (originally 30 cents an hour and gradually raised to 40 cents) and time and one-half rates for hours in excess of 40 per week for all workers engaged in interstate commerce; also prohibits "oppressive child labor" in all establishments producing goods for interstate commerce.

FEATHERBEDDING. A term of opprobrium loosely applied to any union work rules which allegedly place limitations on the maximum utilization of manpower or machines, thus creating "soft" jobs for a greater number of persons than is actually necessary. The term is most frequently used in connection with certain practices on railroads, such as the mileage and full-crew rules. (See also Full Crew Rules, Restriction of Output)

FEDERAL COMMITTEE ON APPRENTICESHIP. A joint committee of employer, union and government representatives established in 1934 for the purpose of promoting a better understanding of the philosophy of indentured apprenticeship and to act in a technical consulting and advisory capacity to all agencies concerned with apprentice training.

FEDERAL LABOR LEGISLATION

See Adamson Act.

Anti-injunction Act (Norris-LaGuardia Act)

Anti-kickback Act

Fair Labor Standards Act (Wage and Hour Act)

Motor Carriers Act

National Labor Relations Act (Wagner Act)

Prevailing Wage Law (Davis-Bacon Act)

Public Contracts Act (Walsh-Healey Act)

Railway Labor Act

Social Security Act

War Labor Disputes Act (Anti-Strike Bill)

FEDERAL LABOR UNION. A local union chartered by and directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor in contrast to locals belonging to International or National unions. (See Local Industrial Union)

FIXED SHIFTS. Where two or more shifts are employed, the arrangement whereby the hour schedule remains the same for each of the several crews in contrast to the periodic rotating of crews. (See Shifts, Rotating Shifts)

FLEXIBLE SCHEDULES. Arrangement of work time in which the number of hours per day or days per week varies but total hours worked within the period do not exceed the number for which straight-time wages are paid. (See One Thousand Hour Clause)

FULL CREW RULES. Generally used to refer to Interstate Commerce Commission regulations which require an engineer, fireman, conductor, brakeman and flagman on every train.

GAIN SHARING. An incentive wage plan which provides progressively smaller bonuses or premiums per unit as output increases, based on the theory that expanded production is the result of both management and worker's effort and that both should share in the gains.

GARNISHMENT. An order issued by a court and executed by a public officer (sheriff, constable, or marshal), directing the employer of a debtor to pay part or all the wages due the debtor to the court officer who in turn transmits it to the creditor. In some states garnishment orders may be issued only against wages due and payable upon a given date; other states allow an order to serve as a continuing levy until the debt is paid. The proportion of any week's wages which may be taken varies among the states.

GENERAL STRIKE. A widespread sympathetic strike in which workers attached to various industries and unions participate in contrast to a *general industry strike* which is confined to one union or one industry even though plants may be widely scattered over the country. The latter may or may not be a sympathetic strike. (See Sympathetic Strike)

GRAND LODGE. Title used by the Machinists, some of the railroad brotherhoods, and other unions to refer to their International organization, "lodge" being used with reference to their locals.

GRAVEYARD SHIFT. Under continuous operation schedules the shift which begins around midnight. (See also Lobster Shift)

GUARANTEED EMPLOYMENT. A plan established by an employer or through employer-union negotiations, whereby employees are assured a specified number of days' work per week or weeks per year or the equivalent in wages. (See also Annual Wages)

GUARANTEED WAGE RATE. The base rate or other established minimum which is guaranteed under most incentive wage systems regardless of actual output.

HOLD-BACK PAY. Any wages withheld by employer; most generally used in connection with the two or three days' wages earned between the end of the pay period and payday.

HOMEWORK. Industrial homework refers to production of commercial goods in private residences from materials furnished by an employer for which the worker is paid by the hour or by the piece. Frequently restricted or regulated by law because of its association with low wages and tenement house conditions.

ILLEGAL STRIKE. A stoppage of work by union members which has not been authorized by the proper union officials or voted upon in accordance with the union's rules.

IMPARTIAL CHAIRMAN. An outside person employed jointly by union and employer (or employers), usually on a permanent basis, to assist in negotiating and administering the collective agreements. During the process of the agreement negotiations, the impartial chairman serves as a mediator or consultant whose function it is to get the two parties mutually to agree upon the terms to be included in the contract; after the contract is negotiated, it is the function of the impartial chairman to see that both parties observe the terms of the contract and to make final decisions when questions arise as to interpretation or application. (See also Arbitration, Mediation, Umpire)

INCENTIVE WAGES. A method of wage payment by which earnings fluctuate more or less in accordance with actual output, thus providing an immediate financial stimulus to increased effort and output. (See also Piece Work, Time Study, "Standard Time," Bedaux, "Manit System")

INDEPENDENT UNION. A union not affiliated with a larger federated organization such as the American Federation of Labor or the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

INDEX NUMBERS. A statistical device for measuring and expressing the quantitative changes in any phenomenon (or groups of phenomena) over a period of time; a series of numbers representing magnitude comparisons and usually expressed as relatives (percentages) to 100 for the base period.

INDUSTRIAL UNION. A labor organization whose jurisdiction includes all or most occupations, skilled and unskilled, within an entire industry.

INJUNCTION. A judicial order commanding an individual or a union to refrain from doing certain acts which the court considers injurious to the property rights of the employer. A temporary injunction is an order to maintain the present state of conditions pending hearings to determine the legality of a permanent order; a permanent injunction remains in effect until the acts or threatened acts complained of have ceased. A blanket injunction is applicable to numerous persons, whose names may not be individually specified, as well as a wide range of activities, some of which may be only indirectly related to the immediate circumstances on which the plea for injunction is based.

Injunctions in connection with labor disputes came into use during the 1890's and were increasingly popular with employers until their use was restricted by federal and state laws. (See Anti-injunction Act)

INTERNATIONAL UNION. In this country "International" refers to unions having membership in Canada as well as the United States.

JOB CLASSIFICATION. The money value (base rate) attached to a job on the basis of its evaluation.

JOB EVALUATION. The qualitative rating of jobs, commonly by a "point" rating method, on the basis of skill, experience, responsibility and special requirements, for purposes of determining basic wage rates.

JOB GRADES. (See Labor Grade)

JOINT AGREEMENT. An agreement signed by several unions with one employer or several employers with one union, or several unions and several employers. Joint agreements are frequent among allied craft unions and employers within the same industry.

JOINT COUNCIL (or Board). A delegate body composed of representatives of various locals of the same International or National union within a given city or other area. Some are known as District Councils.

JOINT HIRING HALL. An employment office administered jointly by a union or union central body and an employers' association such as exists on the Pacific Coast for longshoremen.

JOURNEYMAN. A worker in a skilled trade who has served an apprenticeship to qualify himself for such work. (See Apprentice)

JURISDICTIONAL DISPUTES. A dispute (which may or may not develop into a strike) between two or more unions concerning the right to organize or retain membership in a particular trade or industry; a controversy concerning the establishment, maintenance or clarification of jurisdictional boundary lines. Since the AFL and CIO do not acknowledge jurisdictional boundary lines between them, it follows that jurisdictional disputes occur only between unions belonging to the same affiliated body in contrast to rival union disputes which are conflicts between unions having different or no affiliation. (See Rival Union Disputes, Union Jurisdiction)

KICKBACK. The return or withholding of a portion of an employee's wages by his employer or foreman, upon threat of losing his job or as a bribe for obtaining a job. (See Anti-kickback Act)

LABEL (Union). A tag or imprint on a product to indicate that it has been made under union conditions.

LABOR GRADE. The category to which a particular job is assigned on the basis of skill, experience and other requirements, each grade from common labor to those including the highest skilled occupations having progressively higher minimum and maximum wage rates. The practice of labor grading is common in large plants having a multitude of different kinds of jobs, the purpose being to simplify the wage structure and facilitate transfers of personnel. (See Job Evaluation)

LABOR LAWS. Usually applied to federal or state legislation aimed at improving the conditions of workers or protecting the rights of labor unions;

any legislation pertaining to workers and working conditions. (See Anti-labor Legislation, Federal Labor Legislation)

LABOR RELATIONS. A general term used in connection with any or all matters of mutual concern to employers and employees. Sometimes given a more limited meaning to indicate the kind of recognition in effect between an employer and union. (See National Labor Relations Act)

LABOR TURNOVER. Changes in personnel—usually expressed as rates per month, that is, percentage of accessions and separations to average number on payroll.

LAYOFF. Most frequently used in connection with dismissal from a job because of lack of work although sometimes used to refer to a temporary suspension for disciplinary reasons in contrast to a permanent discharge. Laid-off employees usually retain seniority rights to re-employment for more or less extended periods of time.

LEARNER. A beginner in an occupation which requires a relatively shorter time to learn than a skilled trade where apprenticeship is required. Unlike apprenticeship, there is no formal responsibility on the part of the employer or the union in the matter of instruction although the length of the learner periods may be specified for purposes of wage setting. (See also Apprentice)

LEAVE OF ABSENCE. Allowed time off from a job with the right of reinstatement and without loss of seniority.

"LITTLE STEEL." Refers to steel companies other than the U.S. Steel Corporation. The term was first used during the 1937 strikes against these companies for union recognition, the U.S. Steel Corporation, or "Big Steel," having previously granted recognition. The term later came into use in connection with the wage stabilization program, the cost-of-living criterion for the wage increase granted the workers in these companies (15 per cent increase between January 1, 1941, and May 1, 1942) becoming the "Little Steel Formula" for use in industry generally. (See Wage Stabilization)

LOBSTER SHIFT. Popular term applied to the work shift which begins at midnight or ends in the early morning hours. (See Continuous Process, Shift)

LOCAL INDUSTRIAL UNION. A local union chartered by and directly affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations in contrast to locals belonging to International or National unions. (See Federal Labor Union)

LOCAL UNION. Although the term could be applied to any labor organization whose membership is confined to a single locality, the term is generally used to refer to local organizations which have been chartered by, and are affiliated with, an International or National union.

ployer, in protest against employee actions or to coerce them into accepting his terms. (See Strike)

LONGEVITY PAY. Wages based on length of service; may be in the form of graduated wage rates or an extra bonus or per cent added to regular or base earnings. (See also Automatic Wage Adjustment)

MAINTENANCE OF MEMBERSHIP. An arrangement whereby employees who voluntarily join the union must maintain their membership for the duration of the agreement as a condition of continued employment.

MAJORITY REPRESENTATION. A determination by an appropriate agency (for example, the National Labor Relations Board) that a certain union shall be the collective bargaining agency for all the employees within the bargaining unit on the basis of a finding, by an election or count of membership cards, that such union is favored by a majority of the employees. (See Bargaining Unit, Collective Bargaining)

MAKE-UP WAGES. Difference between actual piecework earnings and earnings at guaranteed rates, or difference between wages received and statutory minimum rates. (See Incentive Wages, Fair Labor Standards Act)

MAKE-UP WORK. Work performed outside regular hours to make up for time lost because of absences; for example, work done on Saturday or an employee's usual day off.

"MANIT SYSTEM." An incentive wage plan in which work performance is measured in man-minutes (called "manits") and extra payments are allowed for "manit" production in excess of 60 per hour.

MASTER AGREEMENT. A union agreement signed by the dominant employer or several of the largest employers in an industry or by an employers' association which includes most of the employers in the industry. Since the terms of such agreements usually establish the pattern of the agreements to be negotiated subsequently in the balance of the industry, there is in effect little difference between a Master Agreement and a Standard or Model Agreement. (See also Standard Agreement)

MEASURED DAY RATE. A wage plan wherein each individual's hour (or day) rate is periodically adjusted according to his average efficiency during the preceding period. (See Incentive Wages)

MEDIATION. An effort by an outside person to bring the employer and worker representatives into agreement. Mediation in its very essence implies voluntarism: whether performed by a government or a private agency, the parties concerned voluntarily refer the dispute to the mediator with the understanding that he is to assist them in reaching a settlement rather than make a settlement for them as in the case of arbitration. (See Arbitration, Conciliation)

MERIT INCREASES. Wage increases granted to individual workers because of their improved efficiency or quality of work on a given job in contrast

to longevity increases based on length of service, or promotion increases due to transfers to more highly paid jobs, or increases to groups of workers which signify general rises in wage levels.

MERIT RATING. A formalized periodic rating of employees' efficiency and other qualifications to be used as a basis for wage increases and promotions and, in some plants, as one factor taken into consideration to determine order of layoff. Also used in connection with some state unemployment compensation laws with reference to reducing contributions of employers who meet specified standards of employment regularization.

MODEL AGREEMENT. (See Standard Agreement)

MODIFIED UNION SHOP. An agreement between an employer and a union requiring all present members to retain their membership and all new employees to become members, but does not require employees who were not members at the time the agreement was signed to join the union. (See Union Shop)

"MORE FAVORABLE TERMS." An agreement by a union that it will not grant more advantageous terms (for example, lower wage rates) to any competitor of the employer signing the agreement.

MOTOR CARRIERS ACT. An act passed in 1935 giving the Interstate Commerce Commission authority to regulate maximum hours of service of employees responsible for the safe operation of passenger and freight motor vehicles operated in interstate or foreign commerce.

MULTICRAFT UNION. A craft union whose jurisdiction covers several distinctly different skilled occupations.

MULTIPLE SHIFT. (See Shift)

NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT (WAGNER ACT). An act passed in 1935 which guarantees to employees in any industry or plant engaged in interstate commerce "the right to self-organization, to form, join, or assist labor organizations, to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, and to engage in concerted activities, for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection." It established the National Labor Relations Board whose function it is to eliminate on the part of the employer unfair labor practices which impede collective bargaining and to settle controversies with regard to representation of employees and to certify which union, if any, shall represent the workers in an appropriate bargaining unit. (See Bargaining Unit, Collective Bargaining, Unfair Labor Practices)

NATIONAL UNION. A union having broad regional coverage but with no members in a foreign country. (See International Union)

NORRIS-LA GUARDIA ACT. (See Anti-injunction Act)

ONE THOUSAND HOUR CLAUSE. The provision in the Fair Labor Standards

weekly hours and overtime regulations up to 12 hours per day and 56 hours per week, if employer and union have entered into an agreement that no employee in the plant will be employed for more than a total of 1,000 hours in any period of 26 consecutive weeks. (See Fair Labor Standards Act, Two Thousand Hour Clause)

OPEN SHOP. Theoretically, a shop where both union and nonunion members are employed. Before union discrimination became illegal, the so-called "open shop" campaigns conducted by employers were in reality an effort to keep unions and union members out of their plans. "Open shop" thereupon became a term of derision, unions claiming it signified "closed to union members."

OPEN UNION. A union which accepts into membership any qualified person employed in the trade or industry over which the union has jurisdiction; a union whose initiation fees are not prohibitive and whose membership rules are not restrictive as to race, sex, etc.

OUTLAW STRIKE. (See Illegal Strike)

OVERTIME. Time worked beyond the standard established by law, employer-union agreements or company regulations, for which "penalty" rates, that is, higher than regular wage rates, are paid. Sometimes used to refer to the wages paid rather than the actual overtime worked, for example, referring to two hours' actual work at time and one-half rate as being three hours' overtime.

PACE SETTER. An unusually fast worker selected by the employer for use in gauging the amount of work that can be done in a given time as a basis for establishing piece rates.

PENALTY RATES. Commonly applied to extra rates paid for overtime and for Sunday and holiday work as well as hazardous or onerous work; also sometimes used to designate higher rates for nightwork, although more commonly these are referred to as shift bonus or shift differential rates.

"Penalty rate" is used interchangeably with "premium rate," although employees are prone to use the former to apply to Sunday and overtime work which they seek to discourage, in contrast to reward or premium wages for duties which must be performed but which, because of their inconvenient hours or unpleasant or hazardous nature, deserve extra compensation.

PERMISSIVE WAGE ADJUSTMENT. Provisions in employer-union contracts allowing either party to reopen the question of wage rates whenever any one or a number of specified changes in conditions have taken place either inside or outside the plant, for example, changes in cost of living or general economic conditions or changes in methods of doing the work. (See also Automatic Wage Adjustment)

PERMIT CARD. A card issued by the union to a nonmember, which permits

him to accept temporary employment with an employer who has a closed-shop contract with the union.

PERMIT FEE. Money charged by a union to a nonunion applicant, which permits him to accept employment on a "union job" or in a closed shop.

PERQUISITES. Goods or services furnished by an employer which could be considered as an addition to wages; for example, free meals or lodging, right to buy goods from the employer at a discount, etc.

"PICK." (See Run)

PICKETING. A person or persons posted by a labor organization at the approach of a work place during a labor dispute for the purpose of (a) informing the public and employees that a dispute exists, (b) persuading workers to join or continue the strike, (c) preventing persons from entering or going to work.

Mass picketing is a parading of large numbers before the entrance and is used for its dramatic effect or when considerable resistance from the employer or nonparticipating employees is anticipated.

Cross picketing denotes picketing by two or more rival unions, each of whom claims to represent the employees of the establishment.

Secondary picketing refers to the picketing of an employer not directly involved in the labor dispute but connected through ownership or business dealings with the employer against whom the union is engaged in a dispute.

Most courts have held that the right to picket stems from the constitutional right of free speech and therefore do not inquire into the purpose of the picketing, although the numbers and activities of the pickets may be restricted.

PIECEWORK. A form of incentive wages which pays a fixed sum for each article produced or worked on. (See also Incentive Wages, Timework)

POSTING. (See Bidding)

PREFERENTIAL SHOP. An agreement between an employer and union whereby union members are afforded preference over nonmembers in some aspect of employment; for example, the last to be laid off and the first to be rehired. (See Closed Shop, Union Shop)

PREMIUM PAY. Various ascribed to extra payments over normal wage rates to which employees are entitled because of work beyond or outside of regular hours, or for output beyond established minimum standards, or for especially hazardous or onerous work. (See Penalty Rates, Overtime, Incentive Wages, Shift Differentials)

PREVAILING WAGE LAW (DAVIS-BACON ACT). An act passed in 1931 (with subsequent amendments) requiring the payment of prevailing wage rates on all federally financed public works contracts in excess of \$2,000, including construction, alteration and repairing.

PROBATIONARY EMPLOYEE. A new employee on a trial basis who is usually

not covered by seniority or other protective rules and, under most union-shop arrangements, is not required to join the union. (See Learner, Trial Period)

PRODUCTIVITY. Amount produced in relation to effort or time expended; a measurement of unit output per worker or per man-hours or -days worked.

PROFIT SHARING. A plan by which employees receive a specified proportion of the company's net earnings or of earnings above a specified amount; usually prorated according to employees' service records or other formula and distributed in the form of annual or semiannual bonuses.

PROGRESSION SCHEDULE. A formal plan for the automatic promotion and increase of employees' wage rates at stated intervals. (See Labor Grade, Longevity Pay)

PROGRESSION WAGES. Graduated wages, within specified limits for each job, based on length of service or merit ratings in contrast to increased wages resulting from promotions to higher jobs.

PUBLIC CONTRACTS ACT (WALSH-HEALEY ACT). An act passed in 1936 which requires that persons employed on United States government contracts for materials, supplies, articles or equipment amounting to more than \$10,000 be paid no less than the prevailing wages in the industry, that time and one-half be paid for all time worked in excess of 8 hours per day or 40 hours per week, that no convict or child labor be used, and that safe and healthful working conditions be maintained.

"QUICKIE" STRIKE. A spontaneous stoppage of work by a group of employees without the sanction or approval of the union. (See Illegal Strike)

RAILWAY LABOR ACT. An act enacted in 1926, amended in 1934 and 1936, governing labor relations of railroads and airlines and their employees. It guarantees employees the right to organize and bargain collectively but prohibits the checkoff of union dues and the closed shop; requires employers to enter into written agreements with their employees and to file copies of such agreements with the National Mediation Board; established the National Mediation Board, whose function is to certify the employees' representation agents and to mediate disputes concerned with terms of new contracts; established the National Railroad Adjustment Board, whose duty is to make final decisions in disputes over the interpretation or application of provisions in existing agreements; requires 30 days' strike notice to the President and forbids any strikes during this period and for 30 days following the report of an Emergency Board appointed by the President.

RATE CUTTING. A term sometimes applied to any reduction of established piece rates; more accurately applied to the arbitrary reduction of rates

by an employer where no changes in the job have taken place in contrast to revision of rates due to changes in methods or machinery used.

RATIONALIZATION. Sometimes used as synonymous to "scientific management," that is, techniques for internal shop management which decrease costs and improve efficiency; also used in connection with plans and controls for an entire industry, such as cartel arrangements.

"REAL" WAGES. The purchasing power of a dollar of wages; that is, money wages in relation to cost of living or price levels. For example, if wage rates have increased 10 per cent and cost of living has also increased 10 per cent during any period, then real wages have remained the same.

REFEREE. (See Umpire)

RESTRICTION OF OUTPUT. (See work Restriction)

RETROACTIVE PAY. (See Back Pay)

RIVAL UNION DISPUTE. A dispute between two or more unions over the issue of which one shall represent a particular group of workers as their collective bargaining agent. A rival union dispute differs from a jurisdictional dispute in that the latter is concerned with claims to jobs or kinds of work, whereas in a rival union dispute the unions acknowledge no jurisdictional boundaries between them but each is contending for the right to represent the workers on the various jobs. In other words, rival union disputes are conflicts between unions of different or no affiliation; that is, between AFL and CIO unions, one of these and an independent union or between two independent unions. (See Jurisdictional Disputes)

ROTATING SHIFTS. Where two or more shifts of workers are employed, the practice of having the several crews change their hour schedules at periodic intervals so that each in turn works on the day and night shifts. On continuous seven-day operations there might also be rotation of day schedules causing days-off to fall on different calendar days. (See Fixed Shifts, Swing Shift)

"RUN." A term used, especially in the transportation industry, to designate a work assignment; in local transportation a run usually refers to an entire day's or week's working schedule of an employee as distinct from one trip. Sometimes referred to as "pick" because of the customary procedure for employees to pick or choose their runs on the basis of their seniority.

RUNAWAY SHOPS. Businesses which have changed location to escape from union conditions or state labor laws. Especially used in connection with establishments which have moved from New York City to outlying communities in neighboring states, or from northern states to the South.

SABOTAGE. Act of obstructing or interfering with processes of work by an employee or employees in order to coerce the employer. Sabotage is asso-

ciated with "direct action" tactics and ranges from peaceful restriction of output to the destruction of machines and materials.

The origin of the term is not fully known and is variously ascribed to the habit of irate French workmen of throwing their wooden shoes (*sabots*) into the machinery or to the dragging, clumsy movements of wooden shoes worn by workers. It was adopted by the French organized labor movement in 1897. "Soldiering" is the American and "ca' canny" is the British equivalent to peaceful sabotage. In recent years the term "sabotage" is more especially used in connection with the destruction of employers' property rather than deliberate slowing down of effort.

SCAB. An employee who continues to work during a strike; also a person who accepts employment in a nonunion shop or under nonunion conditions at a time when the union is trying to organize the industry.

SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT. A term used by Frederick Taylor and his successors to refer to those carefully worked out job techniques (by an engineer) designed to decrease costs and improve efficiency, such as plant layout, work scheduling, time and motion study, job analysis and incentive wage systems. (See Taylor, Time and Motion Study, Incentive Wages, Rationalization)

SCRIP. A certificate issued by an employer in lieu of cash wages, usually redeemable only at a company store.

SEASONAL INDUSTRY. A term loosely applied to any industry which normally has one or two periods of full employment each year interspersed by general layoffs or part-time employment. Under the Fair Labor Standards Act the term is limited to those industries which in periodic recurring parts of the year are forced to cease production because "the materials handled, extracted or processed are not available owing to climate or other natural conditions."

SEASONAL TOLERANCES. Waiving of penalty overtime rates for extra hours worked, or waiving of hours limitations, during peak periods of production as provided in some employer-union agreements and in some state laws as well as the Fair Labor Standards Act for certain seasonal (for example, agricultural processing) industries. (See Overtime)

SECONDARY STRIKE. A strike against an employer who uses or sells materials from a struck plant; differs from a sympathetic strike in that there is a business connection between the employers involved in the initial and secondary strikes. (See Strike, Sympathetic Strike)

SENIORITY. Employment rights and privileges based on length of service; the measure of a claim, in relation to other employees, to a particular job or to employment within a plant or any division in a plant. (See also Layoff, Leave of Absence)

SEPARABILITY CLAUSE. A stipulation in an employer-union agreement

which protects the validity of the remainder of the contract should any particular provision be declared illegal or void for any reason.

SEVERANCE PAY. (See Dismissal Wage)

SHAPE-UP. In longshoring, the system of having men line up ("shape") at least once a day at the piers or other places where representatives of the steamship or stevedoring companies select those they wish for the day's work or job at hand.

SHIFT. A work period in a working schedule which includes more than one set of workers, for example, day and night shifts; term also applied to the workers employed on the shifts, for example, "shift workers." In some industries the term "tour" is more commonly used than shift. (See Fixed Shift, Rotating Shift, Swing Shift)

SHIFT DIFFERENTIAL. Special remuneration for work performed on other than the regular day schedule; may include a per cent or amount over the day rate, or shorter hours with full pay, or both. Differentials may vary between shifts, that is, a higher rate for the midnight than for the afternoon shift.

SHOP CHAIRMAN. A union steward usually chosen by the department stewards from among their own number, although he may be elected by the members within the plant to serve as chairman over all the stewards in the plant and to deal with top management officials in adjusting matters not settled satisfactorily by the department stewards and foremen. (See Business Agent, Steward)

SIT-DOWN STRIKE. A protest stoppage in which the workers involved remain at their work-place in contrast to a strike where workers leave the plant and establish picket lines.

SLIDING SCALE. Wage rates which are automatically adjusted to changes in the selling price of the commodity produced in accordance with a fixed formula.

SLOWDOWN. A deliberate lessening of work effort for a definite purpose and time. In motive a slowdown is similar to a strike and differs from the latter only in degree of stoppage involved. (See Strike)

SOCIAL SECURITY ACT. Law as enacted in 1935 which, with later amendments, establishes social insurance programs to provide income for workers and their families when earnings stop because of unemployment, old age, or death; public assistance to help support needy, aged and blind, and children left without support; service programs to protect the health and welfare of mothers and children. It also provides funds for strengthening and extending public health services and for vocational rehabilitation of workers disabled by accident or disease.

SOLE BARGAINING. The legal or contractual right of a particular union to bargain for all employees, union and nonunion, within the bargaining

unit. (See Collective Bargaining, Bargaining Unit, National Labor Relations Act)

"SOLDIERING." Loafing on the job. Differs from a "slowdown" in that there is no motive involved to bring pressure upon the employer for any particular purpose. (See also Slowdown, Sabotage)

SPEED-UP. A term used by workers to apply to conditions which force them to increase their efforts with no compensating increase in earnings. Speed-up may take the form of a direct increase in work load or it may be the result of rate cutting which forces workers to push up their output in order to maintain their earnings. (See also Rate Cutting, Stretch-out)

SPIES. (See Stoolpigeon)

SPLIT SHIFT. A work schedule in which there is a break in the daily hours, for example, restaurant employees who work several hours at noon and again in the evening.

STANDARD AGREEMENT. A collective agreement prepared by the International or National union for use by its locals. The purpose of a standard agreement is not only to relieve the locals of the task of drafting their own agreements but also to promote the standardization of working conditions throughout the industry. (See Master Agreement)

"STANDARD TIME." A general term applied to any kind of wage incentive system which uses units of time rather than number of pieces produced for measuring premium earnings; for example, 5 hours' pay for performing a designated 5-hour task in 4 hours.

STEWARD. A person elected by the employees within a plant or department to represent them in the adjustment of their grievances with the employer. (See Business Agent, Shop Chairman)

STOOLPIGEON. A person in the hire of the employer (or a detective agency servicing the employer) who joins the union to spy on union members and their activities and to create confusion and suspicion among the members in order to break up the union.

The term is sometimes used interchangeably with "spy" but the latter may work from the outside while a stoolpigeon wangles his way into union membership and not only obtains information for the employer but also actively seeks to disrupt the union. (See also Strikebreaker)

STRAIGHT TIME. Regular time or wages exclusive of overtime.

STRETCH-OUT. Requiring an operator to tend more machines or do more work without a commensurate increase in pay. In effect, stretch-out is synonymous with speed-up, the term "stretch-out" being most frequently used in the textile or other industries where machines are largely automatic.

STRIKE. A temporary stoppage of work by a group of employees in order to express a grievance or to enforce a demand concerning changes in working conditions. Government statistics exclude all strikes lasting less than

one day or involving fewer than six workers, and make no distinction between strikes and lockouts. (See also General Strike, Illegal Strike, Sit-down Strike, Sympathetic Strike)

STRIKEBREAKERS. Outside persons hired during a labor dispute to fill the jobs of those on strike; more especially those hired for the duration of the strike where there is no intention of retaining them as permanent employees. Also used to refer to spies and "strong-arm" men employed to break up a strike by fomenting confusion and violence. (See also Anti-strikebreaking Act, Scab)

SUBCONTRACTING. (See Contracting)

SUBSTANDARD EMPLOYEE. A worker who, because of physical or mental handicaps, is unable to maintain normal production standards and who, therefore, may be paid less than the regular rate.

SWING SHIFT. The fourth shift or fourth crew of workers on continuous operation schedules; sometimes refers to the entire four-shift arrangement. The name is derived from the necessary expedient on round-the-clock operations of having one shift (or all four shifts depending upon the nature of the "swing") rotate to different days and hours at specified intervals.

SYMPATHETIC STRIKE. A strike of workers who are not directly concerned with the matter in dispute but have participated in order to demonstrate worker solidarity and thus broaden the group pressure upon the employer against whom there is a strike for a specific cause. (See also General Strike, Secondary Strike)

SYNDICALISM. A French term for trade-unionism. In this country the term is connected with the revolutionary philosophy based on the idea that syndicates or unions should take over, own and operate the industries, as opposed to the trade union philosophy that unions are instruments to improve the condition of workers under capitalism. The best-known syndicalist movement in this country was the Industrial Workers of the World, active before and during World War I, which was strongly tinged with political anarchism.

"TASK." Under wage incentive systems the amount of production per unit of time which is necessary to earn the base rate of pay, sometimes referred to as "standard time" or production or job standard. (See Base Rate, Incentive Wages)

TAYLOR, FREDERICK. An engineer, active during the 1890's and early 1900's, who is commonly considered to be the founder of the "scientific management" movement; a proponent of functionalized management, time and motion study, and a differential piece rate system whereby a worker who accomplishes a specified maximum standard is paid a certain

rate for each piece and a lesser rate per piece if the maximum standard is not accomplished. (See Scientific Management)

TECHNOLOGICAL UNEMPLOYMENT. Displacement of workers due to introduction of or improvements in machinery and new methods of production.

TEMPORARY EMPLOYEE. One who is employed for a short period of time and who therefore does not have seniority rights or other privileges incident to permanent status. Under union-shop agreements may be given a working permit in lieu of union membership.

TERMINAL JOBS. Jobs which have no promotion possibilities; "blind alley" jobs.

"TEST HANDS." Persons selected for time study in establishing job standards and piece rates. (See also Time Study, Incentive Wages)

THOUSAND HOUR CLAUSE. (See One Thousand Hour Clause)

TIME AND MOTION STUDY. Observing the motions and measuring the time which an operator takes to perform a job or job element, usually with a stop watch, for purposes of establishing job standards and incentive wage rates.

TIMEWORK. Employment where wages are based on a fixed amount per hour or day in contrast to piecework or other form of incentive pay.

TOUR. (See Shift)

TRIAL PERIOD. The time a new employee (or an old employee on a new job) is given to prove his competency and thus qualify for permanent status. (See Apprentice, Learner, Probationary Employee)

TRICK. A work period, such as a shift.

TWO THOUSAND HOUR CLAUSE. The provision in the Fair Labor Standards Act which allows working schedules without regard to the maximum weekly hours and overtime regulations up to 12 hours per day and 56 hours per week, if employer and union have entered into an agreement that no employee in the plant will be employed for more than a total of 2,000 hours in any period of 52 consecutive weeks. (See One Thousand Hour Clause, Fair Labor Standards Act)

UMPIRE. An outside person employed jointly by the union and the employer, usually for a definite period of time, to whom are referred for final decision disputes over the interpretation or application of provisions of the agreement. Although arbitrator, impartial chairman, referee and umpire are sometimes used indiscriminately, the latter three are more commonly applied when such persons serve in a permanent capacity as distinguished from an arbitrator who is appointed to settle a particular dispute.

Sometimes the distinction is made between impartial chairman and umpire (or referee), the former serving both as an adviser while the

agreement is being negotiated and as an interpreter or arbitrator after the agreement is signed. An umpire, on the other hand, takes no part in agreement negotiations but renders final decisions upon the request of either or both parties on the interpretation and application of an already signed agreement. (See Arbitration, Impartial Chairman)

"UNFAIR" EMPLOYER. Specifically, an employer who has committed an unfair labor practice as defined by law. In union parlance it may refer to any nonunion employer.

UNFAIR LABOR PRACTICES. As defined in the National Labor Relations Act: (1) To interfere with, restrain, or coerce employees in the exercise of their right to self-organization and collective bargaining. (2) To dominate or interfere with the formation or administration of any labor organization or contribute financial or other support to it. (3) By discrimination in regard to hire or tenure of employment or any term or condition of employment to encourage or discourage membership in any labor organization. (4) To discharge or otherwise discriminate against an employee because he has filed charges or given testimony under the National Labor Relations Act. (5) To refuse to bargain collectively with the representatives of employees.

UNION AGREEMENT. (See Collective Agreement)

UNION JURISDICTION. The types of work, or entire industry, which a union claims, or which its federated body (AFL or CIO) has assigned to it as a basis for its membership. (See Jurisdictional Disputes)

UNION-SHOP CARD. A card issued by the union for display by the employer to indicate that he is operating under union conditions. Commonly used by barbershops, restaurants and other retail and service industries. Analogous to use of union label in manufacturing.

UNION-MANAGEMENT CO-OPERATION. In its broadest sense, refers to any peaceful management-union negotiations including bargaining over terms of employment. More commonly the term is given a limited meaning to refer to those jointly sponsored activities which are directed to the improvement and expansion of the business, such as, cost savings, improvement in production procedures and quality of output, sales promotion, etc.

UNION SECURITY. Term commonly applied to provisions in collective agreements, which grant the closed or union shop or require maintenance of membership of those who once join the union.

UNION SHOP. An agreement between an employer and union which requires all employees immediately after hiring or after a specified probationary period, to become and remain members of the union. (See Closed Shop, Modified Union Shop)

UNIT. (See Bargaining Unit)

UNLICENSED PERSONNEL. Seamen who are not required to have a license; that is, ordinary seamen, stewards, cooks, firemen, etc. as distinct from masters, mates, pilots and engineers.

VERTICAL UNION. A union whose claimed jurisdiction covers all occupations from the production of raw materials to fabricated products. There is no clear line of distinction between a vertical and an industrial union.

VOLUNTARY CHECKOFF. (See Checkoff)

WAGE AND HOUR ACT. (See Fair Labor Standards Act)

WAGE AWARD. The specified wage rates determined by an arbitrator or government agency.

WAGE BRACKETS. A device used by the War Labor Board in the administration of the stabilization program which defines minimum and maximum allowable limits for each occupation for wage rate changes. The bracket for a given occupation is the range of rates, excluding the extremely high and low rates, normally paid for that occupation in the area.

WAGE DIFFERENTIALS. Established differences in wages paid for the same kind of job because of differences in working or living conditions, for example, day versus night rates or rates adjusted to differences in cost of living between communities.

WAGE RATE. Amount of pay for a specified unit of labor, such as an hour's work. (See also Piecework, Timework)

WAGES. As distinct from "earnings," wages usually refer to regular wage rates or remuneration for work performed under normal conditions, that is, exclusive of overtime and holiday work or work performed under other special circumstances. (See also Earnings, Incentive Wages, "Real" Wages)

WAGE STABILIZATION. Any plan to keep wages in an area or industry at established levels. Used particularly with reference to the Stabilization Act and Executive Order 9250 (Oct. 3, 1942) which provided that existing rates should be maintained for the duration of the war except for increases granted by the War Labor Board for certain specified reasons; namely, where "necessary to correct maladjustments or inequalities, to eliminate substandards of living, to correct gross inequities, and to aid in the effective prosecution of the war." Subsequent orders allowed for changes to compensate for increases in the cost of living. (See Wage Brackets, "Little Steel")

WAGNER ACT. (See National Labor Relations Act)

WAITING TIME. (See "Dead" Time)

WALSH-HEALEY ACT. (See Public Contracts Act)

WAR LABOR DISPUTES ACT (CONNALLY-SMITH ANTISTRIKE BILL). Enacted in 1943 as an amendment to the Selective Training and Service

Act; ceases to be effective six months after termination of the war. Empowers the President to take over plants where strikes are interrupting or threatening to interrupt war production and makes strikes in such plants a punishable offense; requires a 30 days' notice followed by a secret ballot conducted by the National Labor Relations Board before strikes may be called in any war plants; gives statutory status to the National War Labor Board with power to subpoena witnesses and make final decisions; amends the Federal Corrupt Practices Act by making it unlawful for a labor organization to make a contribution in connection with any election at which presidential electors or congressmen are to be voted for.

WATCH. The specified time when a seaman is on duty. Comparable to shift or work period.

WELFARE MANAGEMENT. Activities conducted by the employer for the comfort and improvement of his employees; industrial paternalism. Sometimes used as a term of derision for companies who offer welfare programs as substitutes for collective bargaining.

WILDCAT STRIKE. (See "Quickie" Strike, Illegal Strike)

WORKING EMPLOYER. One who employs others but more or less regularly performs the same kind of work as is done by his employees. Some unions restrict the amount and kind of work employers may do in order to prevent persons not subject to the terms of the agreement from doing work which the union believes should be done by its members.

WORK LOAD. The quantitative measure of an hour's or a day's performance on a job. The term is usually applied to a standard of output which is supposed to represent reasonably efficient production without risk to health or safety. (See also Speed-up, Job Standard, Task)

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION. Insurance systems established by law providing monetary benefits to workers who suffer physical injury during the course of their employment, irrespective of carelessness of worker or negligence of employer.

WORK RESTRICTION. A tacit understanding or planned movement among a group of employees to limit output below the standard of efficiency which could be maintained without risk to health and safety. Restriction of output may be (1) a temporary act to gain an immediate definite concession from the employer in which case it takes on the nature of a slowdown strike (2) an effort to prolong a job and prevent unemployment. Where workers are imbued with the idea of permanent scarcity of jobs, rules which directly or indirectly curtail production may be introduced in the union's constitution or agreements with employers. (See Featherbedding, Sabotage, Work Load)

WORK SHARING. A definite plan introduced by an employer, or through collective agreement by an employer and union, by which a limited

amount of work is "spread" among more workers than is necessary to do the work, by reducing each worker's daily or weekly hours.

YELLOW-DOG CONTRACT. A term of derision to refer to the document which many employers formerly compelled their employees to sign as a condition of employment, wherein the employee promised that he would not join a labor union or otherwise participate in concerted action. (See Anti-injunction Act)

CHAPTER XVI

UNIONS IN EACH INDUSTRY

THE following indicates the various unions which have considerable membership in each of the industries or, in the case of craft unions, which have substantial membership in particular occupations connected with the industry. Where a union is important in only one branch or area of an industry and its name does not suggest its jurisdiction, the branch or area is noted after the name of the union. The order in which the unions are listed has no significance.

AIRCRAFT AND AUTOMOBILE MANUFACTURING

United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America (CIO)
International Association of Machinists (AFL)
United Automobile Workers of America (AFL)
United Aircraft Welders of America (Ind.)
Mechanics Educational Society of America (Ind.)
Foreman's Association of America (Ind.)

BUILDING CONSTRUCTION

United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America (AFL)
International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union of America (AFL)
International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America (AFL)
Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America (AFL)
International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers of America (AFL)
International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers (AFL)
International Union of Operating Engineers (AFL)
Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union of America (AFL)
United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada (AFL)

Operative Plasterers' and Cement Finishers International Association of the United States and Canada (AFL)
Sheet Metal Workers' International Association (AFL)
International Union of Elevator Constructors (AFL)
International Union of Wood, Wire, and Metal Lathers (AFL)
United Slate, Tile and Composition Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association (AFL)
The Granite Cutters' International Association of America (AFL)
International Association of Marble, Slate & Stone Polishers (AFL)
International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and Asbestos Workers (AFL)
Journeyman Stonecutters' Association of North America (AFL)
Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen & Helpers (AFL)
International Association of Machinists (AFL)
United Construction Workers, United Mine Workers of America (Ind.)

CHEMICALS

International Chemical Workers Union (AFL)
District 50, United Mine Workers of America (Ind.)
United Gas, Coke and Chemical Workers (CIO)
Food, Tobacco, Agricultural and Allied Workers (CIO) *animal and vegetable oil*
International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers (CIO) *explosives*
International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America (AFL) *printing ink*
Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America (AFL) *paint*
Textile Workers Union of America (CIO) *rayon yarn*
United Textile Workers of America (AFL) *rayon yarn*
United Rubber Workers of America (CIO) *synthetic rubber*
Oil Workers International Union (CIO) *butadiene*

CLAY—See Stone, Clay, and Glass

CLOTHING (See also Leather and Textiles)

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (AFL)
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (CIO)
United Garment Workers of America (AFL)
International Fur and Leather Workers' Union (CIO)
International Glove Workers Union of America (AFL)
United Hatters, Cap, and Millinery Workers' International Union (AFL)

COMMUNICATIONS (Telephone, Telegraph and Radio)

National Federation of Telephone Workers (Ind.)
 Commercial Telegraphers Union of North America (AFL)
 American Communications Association (CIO)
 International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America (AFL)
 National Association of Broadcast Engineers & Technicians (Ind.)

EDUCATION AND ENTERTAINMENT

The Associated Actors and Artistes of America (AFL)
 American Federation of Musicians (AFL)
 International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and Moving Picture
 Machine Operators of the United States and Canada (AFL)
 American Federation of Teachers (AFL)

FOOD AND KINDRED PRODUCTS

United Packinghouse Workers of America (CIO)
 Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen of North America (AFL)
 Bakery & Confectionery Workers' International Union of America (AFL)
 Food, Tobacco, Agricultural and Allied Workers Union of America (CIO)
 International Union of United Brewery, Flour, Cereal & Soft Drink
 Workers of America (Ind.)
 International Fishermen & Allied Workers of America (CIO)
 Seafarers' International Union of North America (AFL) *West Coast
 fishing*
 Distillery, Rectifying & Wine Workers International Union of America
 (AFL)
 International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen &
 Helpers of America (AFL) *beverages—dairy*
 International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (CIO) *sugar
 refining—cannery*
 International Longshoremen's Association (AFL) *sugar refining*
 United Retail, Wholesale & Department Store Employees of America
 (CIO) *dairy, confectionery*
 American Federation of Grain Processors Council (AFL)
 Federal Labor Unions (AFL)
 Local Industrial Unions (CIO) *sugar refining*

GLASS—See Stone, Clay and Glass

GOVERNMENT—FEDERAL, STATE AND LOCAL

National Federation of Federal Employees (Ind.)
American Federation of Government Employees (AFL)
United Federal Workers of America (CIO)
American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFL)
State, County and Municipal Workers of America (CIO)
International Association of Fire-fighters (AFL) *firemen*
National Association of Master Mechanics and Foremen of Navy Yard
and Naval Stations (AFL)
National Association of Letter Carriers (AFL)
United National Association of Post Office Clerks (Ind.)
National Federation of Post Office Clerks (AFL)
National Rural Letter Carriers Association (Ind.)
Railway Mail Association (AFL)
National League of District Postmasters of the United States (Ind.)
The National Association of Postal Supervisors (Ind.)
National Alliance of Postal Employees (Ind.)
National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers (AFL)
National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers (AFL)
The National Association of Special Delivery Messengers (AFL)

LEATHER AND LEATHER PRODUCTS

International Fur and Leather Workers' Union (CIO)
United Leather Workers' International Union (AFL)
United Shoe Workers of America (CIO)
Boot and Shoe Workers Union (AFL)
Brotherhood of Shoe and Allied Craftsmen (Ind.)
International Ladies' Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union
(AFL)
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (CIO)

LUMBER AND WOOD PRODUCTS

United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America (AFL)
International Woodworkers of America (CIO)
United Furniture Workers of America (CIO)
Upholsterers' International Union of North America (AFL)
District 50, United Mine Workers of America (Ind.) *wood preserving*
Federal Labor Unions (AFL) *matches*

MACHINERY

International Association of Machinists (AFL)
United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (CIO)
International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (AFL)
United Steelworkers of America (CIO)
United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America (CIO)
United Farm Equipment and Metal Workers of America (CIO)
International Molders and Foundry Workers Union of North America (AFL)
Pattern Makers' League of North America (AFL)
Mechanics Educational Society of America (Ind.)
The Society of Tool and Die Craftsmen (Ind.)
International Die Sinkers Conference (Ind.)
Federal Labor Unions (AFL)

MINING AND QUARRYING

United Mine Workers of America (Ind.)
Progressive Mine Workers of America (AFL) *Illinois coal*
United Steelworkers of America (CIO) *iron mining*
International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers (CIO)
United Stone and Allied Products Workers of America (CIO)
International Council of Chemical and Allied Industries Unions (AFL)
United Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers International Union (AFL)
Federal Labor Unions (AFL)

NONFERROUS METALS AND THEIR PRODUCTS

International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers (CIO)
International Association of Machinists (AFL)
United Steelworkers of America (CIO)
International Council of Aluminum Workers Unions (AFL)
United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America (CIO)
International Council of Fabricated Metal & Enamelware Workers (AFL)
International Molders & Foundry Workers Union of North America (AFL)
Pattern Makers' League of North America (AFL)
Sheet Metal Workers' International Association (AFL)
Playthings, Jewelry & Novelty Workers International Union (CIO)
International Jewelry Workers' Union (AFL)
Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America (AFL)
Federal Labor Unions (AFL)

International Die Sinkers Conference (Ind.)

United Automobile, Aircraft & Agricultural Implement Workers of America (CIO)

OFFICE, TECHNICAL AND PROFESSIONAL (GENERAL)

United Office and Professional Workers of America (CIO)

Office Employees Union (AFL)

International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects' and Draftsmen's Union (AFL)

Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians (CIO)

Foreman's Association of America (Ind.)

PAPER AND ALLIED PRODUCTS

International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite & Paper Mill Workers of the U. S. and Canada (AFL)

International Brotherhood of Paper Makers (AFL)

District 50—United Mine Workers of America (Ind.)

Paper Workers Organizing Committee (CIO)

United Wall Paper Craftsmen & Workers of North America (AFL)

International Printing Pressmen's & Assistants' Union of North America (AFL)

International Brotherhood of Bookbinders (AFL)

PETROLEUM AND COAL PRODUCTS

Oil Workers International Union (CIO)

United Gas, Coke and Chemical Workers of America (CIO)

United Steelworkers of America (CIO)

District 50—United Mine Workers of America (Ind.)

International Chemical Workers Union (AFL)

International Union of Operating Engineers (AFL)

PRINTING AND PUBLISHING

International Typographical Union (AFL)

International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America (AFL)

International Brotherhood of Bookbinders (AFL)

Amalgamated Lithographers of America (AFL)

International Photo-Engravers' Union of North America (AFL)

International Stereotypers' & Electrotypers' Union of North America (AFL)

International Plate Printers, Die Stampers & Engravers' Union of North America (AFL)
International Association of Siderographers (AFL)
American Newspaper Guild (CIO)

PUBLIC UTILITIES

International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America (AFL)
Utility Workers Organizing Committee (CIO)
District 50—United Mine Workers of America (Ind.)
United Gas, Coke & Chemical Workers of America (CIO)
United Utilities Union of America (Ind.)

RAILROAD CAR AND LOCOMOTIVE MANUFACTURING

Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America (AFL)
United Steelworkers of America (CIO)
International Association of Machinists (AFL)

RUBBER

United Rubber Workers of America (CIO)
Federal Labor Unions (AFL)

SERVICES

The Journeymen Barbers, Hairdressers & Cosmetologists' International Union of America (AFL)
Barbers & Beauty Culturists Union of America (CIO)
Building Service Employees' International Union (AFL)
International Association of Cleaning & Dye House Workers (AFL)
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (CIO) *cleaning and laundry*
Laundry Workers' International Union (AFL)
Hotel & Restaurant Employees' International Alliance & Bartenders' International League of America (AFL)

SHIPBUILDING

International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders & Helpers of America and other metal trades unions (AFL)
Industrial Marine & Shipbuilding Workers of America (CIO)

STEEL AND STEEL PRODUCTS

United Steelworkers of America (CIO)
International Association of Machinists (AFL)
International Molders and Foundry Workers Union of North America (AFL)
United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America (CIO)
United Automobile Workers of America (AFL)
Stove Mounters International Union (AFL)
United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (CIO) *plumbing and heating equipment*
Sheet Metal Workers' International Association (AFL)
International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers (AFL)
Pattern Makers' League of North America (AFL)
Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers International Union (AFL)
International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America (AFL)
International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers (AFL)
Society of Tool and Die Craftsmen (Ind.)

STONE, CLAY AND GLASS PRODUCTS

United Cement, Lime & Gypsum Workers International Union (AFL)
The United Brick & Clay Workers of America (AFL)
United Stone & Allied Products Workers of America (CIO)
International Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers (CIO)
International Association of Marble, Slate & Stone Polishers, Rubbers & Sawyers, Tile & Marble Setters Helpers & Terrazzo Helpers (AFL)
The Granite Cutters' International Association of America (AFL)
Journeyman Stonecutters' Association of North America (AFL)
Federation of Glass, Ceramic & Silica Sand Workers of America (CIO) *flat glass*
American Flint Glass Workers Union of North America (AFL) *glassware*
Glass Bottle Blowers Association of the U.S. & Canada (AFL) *containers*
Window Glass Cutters' League of America (AFL)
National Brotherhood of Operative Potters (AFL)
International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America (AFL)
United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America (CIO)

TEXTILES

Textile Workers Union of America (CIO)
United Textile Workers of America (AFL)

Hosiery Workers, Branch of Textile Workers Union (CIO)

Dyers, Finishers, Printers & Bleachers, Branch of Textile Workers Union (CIO)

Amalgamated Lace Operatives of America (Ind.)

Machine Printers Beneficial Association (Ind.)

TOBACCO MANUFACTURES

Tobacco Workers' International Union (AFL)

Cigarmakers' International Union of America (AFL)

Food, Tobacco, Agricultural and Allied Workers (CIO)

TRADE—WHOLESALE AND RETAIL

United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees of America (CIO)

Retail Clerks International Protective Association (AFL)

International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America (AFL) *filling stations and warehouses*

Oil Workers International Union (CIO) *filling stations*

International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (CIO) *wholesale*

Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen of North America (AFL)

TRANSPORTATION

Air

International Air Line Mechanics Association (Ind.)

International Air Line Pilots Association (AFL)

Air Line Communications Employees' Association (Ind.)

Maritime

National Marine Engineers Beneficial Association (CIO)

Masters, Mates and Pilots of America (AFL)

United Licensed Officers of the U. S. A. (Ind.)

National Maritime Union of America (CIO)

Seafarers' International Union of North America, including Sailors' Union of the Pacific (AFL)

Marine Firemen, Oilers, Watertenders and Wipers of the Pacific Coast (Ind.)

Marine Cooks' and Stewards' Association of the Pacific Coast (CIO)

American Communications Association (CIO)

Commercial Telegraphers Union of North America (AFL)

Inlandboatmen's Union of the Pacific (CIO)
International Longshoremen's Association (AFL) *East and Gulf*
International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (CIO) *West and Gulf*

Motor and Electric

Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America (AFL)
Transport Workers Union of America (CIO)
Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen (Ind.) *intercity bus lines*
International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America (AFL) *taxis*

Railroads

Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers (Ind.)
Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen (Ind.)
Order of Railway Conductors of America (Ind.)
Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen (Ind.)
Switchmen's Union of North America (AFL)
Railroad Yardmasters of America (Ind.)
American Association of Train Dispatchers (Ind.)
The Order of Railroad Telegraphers (AFL)
Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees (AFL)
Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen (Ind.)
International Association of Machinists (AFL)
International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers of America (AFL)
International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers (AFL)
Sheet Metal Workers International Association (AFL)
International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America (AFL)
Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America (AFL)
International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers (AFL)
Brotherhood of Railway & Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express & Station Employees (AFL)
Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America (AFL)
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (AFL)
United Transport Service Employees of America (CIO)
The American Railway Supervisors Association, Inc. (Ind.)
Railway Patrolmen's Union National Council (AFL)

APPENDICES

CONSTITUTION OF THE
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR
1944

PREAMBLE

WHEREAS, A struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit;

It, therefore, behooves the representatives of the Trade and Labor Unions of America, in convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure the recognition of rights to which they are justly entitled.

We, therefore, declare ourselves in favor of the formation of a thorough Federation, embracing every Trade and Labor Organization in America, organized under the Trade Union system.

CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE I.—NAME

This Association shall be known as THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, and shall consist of such Trade and Labor Unions as shall conform to its rules and regulations.

ARTICLE II.—OBJECTS

SECTION 1. The object of this Federation shall be the encouragement and formation of local Trade and Labor Unions, and the closer federation of such societies through the organization of Central Trade and Labor Unions in every city, and the further combination of such bodies into

State, Territorial, or Provincial organizations to secure legislation in the interest of the working masses.

SEC. 2. The establishment of National and International Trade Unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade, and the promotion and advancement of such bodies.

SEC. 3. The establishment of Departments composed of National or International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, of the same industry, and which Departments shall be governed in conformity with the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. An American Federation of all National and International Trade Unions, to aid and assist each other; to aid and encourage the sale of union label goods, and to secure legislation in the interest of the working people, and influence public opinion, by peaceful and legal methods, in favor of organized labor.

SEC. 5. To aid and encourage the labor press of America.

ARTICLE III.—CONVENTION

SECTION 1. The convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 A.M., on the first Monday in October, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding convention, except during the years when a presidential election occurs, when the convention in those years shall be held beginning the third Monday of November. If the proper convention arrangements or reasonable hotel accommodations can not be secured in that city, the Executive Council may change the place of meeting.

SEC. 2. A. Special conventions may be called by direction of a regular convention, by order of the Executive Council, or on request of National and International Unions representing a majority of the total membership of the American Federation of Labor, as evidenced by the records of the Secretary-Treasurer to the last regular convention.

B. Special conventions shall not be called unless at least 30 days' notice of such special convention, together with statement of particular subject or subjects to be considered, has been given to all affiliated organizations.

C. Representation to special conventions shall be on the same basis and subject to like qualifications and procedure governing regular conventions.

D. Special conventions shall be clothed with like authority and power conferred upon regular conventions, its decisions shall be equally binding and it shall be governed by the same procedure applicable to regular conventions; however, such special conventions shall be limited solely to the subject or subjects specifically and definitely indicated in the call for such special convention.

SEC. 3. At the opening of the convention the President shall take the chair and call the convention to order, and preside during its sessions.

SEC. 4. The following committees, consisting of 15 members each, shall be appointed by the President: First, Rules and Order of Business; second, Report of Executive Council; third, Resolutions; fourth, Laws; fifth, Organization; sixth, Labels; seventh, Adjustment; eighth, Local and Federated Bodies; ninth, Education; tenth, State Organization; eleventh, Industrial Relations; twelfth, Building Trades (to which shall be referred all grievances and other matters pertaining exclusively to the building trades); thirteenth, Legislation.

SEC. 5. The President shall direct the chief executive officers of three National or International Unions, at least 10 days previous to the holding of the annual convention, to appoint one delegate each from their respective delegations-elect, who shall compose an Auditing Committee. The committee shall meet at such place as the President of the American Federation of Labor may direct, and at such time prior to the convention as the President may determine is necessary for the proper performance of their duty; and they shall audit the accounts of the Federation for the preceding 12 months, and report upon credentials immediately upon the opening of the convention. The expense of said committee shall be paid out of the funds of the Federation.

SEC. 6.—¹ All resolutions, petitions, memorials and/or appeals to be considered by any subsequent convention of the American Federation of Labor must be received by the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor at headquarters in Washington, D. C., 30 days immediately preceding the opening of the convention; except in instances where such resolutions, petitions, memorials, appeals, etc., have been acted upon and approved at a regular convention of a National or International Union or State Federation of Labor, held during this 30-day period, in which event such proposals shall be received up to five days prior to the convening date of the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

² All resolutions, petitions, memorials and/or appeals received or submitted after the time hereinbefore stipulated or during the convention shall be referred to the Executive Council and the Executive Council shall refer all such proposal or proposals to the convention with the understanding that acceptance of such proposal or proposals is dependent upon the unanimous consent of the convention.

³ Any or all proposals emanating from directly affiliated local and federal labor unions shall be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and disposition. The Executive Council shall in turn advise the convention of the American Federation of Labor of the disposition made of such proposal or proposals.

⁴ Proposals emanating from state federations of labor to receive considerations of a convention of the American Federation of Labor must first have received the approval of the previous convention of the state federation of labor involved.

In the case of city central labor unions any proposal or proposals to be considered must have first received the approval of such central labor union at a regularly constituted meeting of such organization.

⁵ All resolutions, memorials, petitions and/or appeals received shall, immediately upon the expiration of the time for introduction hereinbefore indicated, be grouped as to nature of contents, character of subjects embraced, and committees to which they are to be referred, and all such proposals in such allocated form shall be prepared for distribution at the opening session of the convention.

⁶ The President shall be authorized in the interest of helpful consideration and expediency to appoint the contemplated chairman and secretary of the Committee on Resolutions and/or of any other committee to be appointed and as the number and character of proposals may indicate, and to require such chairman and secretary to meet either at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, or at the convention city previous to the opening of the convention, to consider proposals to be referred to such committee or committees and in order to enable them to more speedily and effectually report thereon to the convention itself.

SEC. 7. The convention shall have power to order an executive session at any time.

SEC. 8. None other than members of a bona fide Trade Union shall be permitted to address the convention or to read papers therein, except by a two-thirds vote of the convention.

SEC. 9. Party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialistic, Populistic, Prohibition, or any other, shall have no place in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 10. The rules and order of business governing the preceding convention shall be in force from the opening of any convention of the American Federation of Labor until new rules have been adopted by action of the convention.

SEC. 11. A quorum for the transaction of business shall consist of not less than one-fourth of the delegates attending a convention.

SEC. 12. No grievance shall be considered by any convention that has been decided by a previous convention, except upon the recommendation of the Executive Council, nor shall any grievance be considered where the parties thereto have not previously held a conference and attempted to adjust the same themselves.

ARTICLE IV.—REPRESENTATION

SECTION 1. The basis of representation in the convention shall be: From National and International Unions, for less than 4,000 members, one delegate; 4,000 or more, two delegates; 8,000 or more, three delegates; 16,000 or more, four delegates; 32,000 or more, five delegates, and so on. From Central Bodies, State Federations, National Departments, Federal Labor Unions, and Local Unions having no National or International Union, one delegate; provided, however, that Local Unions and Federal Labor Unions herein referred to, located in one city, shall have the right to unite in sending a delegate to represent them unitedly. Only bona fide wage workers who are not members of, or eligible to membership in other Trade Unions, shall be eligible as delegates from Federal Labor Unions. Only those persons whose Local Unions are affiliated with Central Bodies, or with State branches and who are delegates to said Central Bodies or State Branches shall be eligible to represent City Central Bodies or State Branches in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 2. The delegates shall be elected at least two weeks previous to the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, and the names of such delegates shall be forwarded to the Secretary-Treasurer of this body immediately after their election.

SEC. 3. Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, but if a call of the roll is demanded by one-tenth of the delegates present, each delegate shall cast one vote for every 100 members or major fraction thereof which he represents, provided that the delegate's union has been affiliated with the Federation for the full fiscal year preceding the convention. When affiliated for a period of less than one year, each delegate shall cast one-twelfth of one vote for each 100 members or major fraction thereof which he represents for each month for which per capita tax has been paid upon the members of his union. No City or State Federation shall be allowed more than one vote.

SEC. 4. The Secretary-Treasurer shall prepare for the use of the convention printed poll lists, containing the number of votes the delegates from National and International Unions are entitled to, based upon the average membership during the year, from reports made to the office of the Federation not later than August 31, preceding the annual convention.

SEC. 5. No organization or person that has seceded, or has been suspended, or expelled by the American Federation of Labor, or by any National or International organization connected with the Federation shall, while under such penalty, be allowed representation or recognition in this Federation, or in any Central Body or National or International Union connected with the American Federation of Labor, under penalty of the suspension of the body, violating this section. No organization officered or con-

trolled by Communists; or any person espousing Communism or advocating the violent overthrow of our institutions, shall be allowed representation or recognition in any Central Body or State Federation of Labor.

SEC. 6. No organization shall be entitled to representation unless such organization has applied for and obtained a certificate of affiliation at least one month prior to the convention, and no person shall be recognized as a delegate who is not a member in good standing of the organization he is elected to represent.

ARTICLE V.—OFFICERS

SECTION 1. The officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, 13 Vice Presidents, and a Secretary-Treasurer, to be elected by the convention on the last day of the session, unless otherwise determined by the convention, and these officers shall be the Executive Council.

SEC. 2. The President and Secretary-Treasurer shall be members of the succeeding convention in case they are not delegates, but without vote.

SEC. 3. All elective officers shall be members of a local organization connected with the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. The terms of the officers of the American Federation of Labor shall expire on the 31st day of December succeeding the convention.

SEC. 5. The President and Secretary-Treasurer shall engage suitable offices in the same building at Washington, D. C., for the transaction of the business of the organization.

SEC. 6. All books and financial accounts shall at all times be open to the inspection of the President and Executive Council.

ARTICLE VI.—DUTIES OF PRESIDENT

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at the regular and special conventions; to exercise supervision of the Federation throughout its jurisdiction; to sign all official documents, and to travel, with the consent of the Executive Council, whenever required, in the interest of the Federation.

SEC. 2. The President shall submit to the Secretary-Treasurer at the end of each month an itemized account of all moneys, traveling and incidental, expended by him in the interest of the Federation; and shall report to the annual convention of the Federation through the report of the Executive Council.

SEC. 3. The President, if not a delegate, shall have the casting vote in case of a tie, but shall not vote at other times. He shall be required to devote all his time to the interest of the Federation.

SEC. 4. The President shall call meetings of the Executive Council, when

necessary; and shall preside over their deliberations, and shall receive for his services \$20,000 per annum, payable weekly.

SEC. 5. In case of a vacancy in the office of President by death, resignation, or other cause, the Secretary-Treasurer shall perform the duties of the President until his successor is elected. In that event it shall be the duty of the Secretary-Treasurer to issue, within six days from the date of vacancy, a call for a meeting of the Executive Council at headquarters for the purpose of electing a President to fill said vacancy.

SEC. 6. The President shall be authorized and empowered to discipline State Federations of Labor, City Central Labor Unions, and Local and Federal Labor Unions including authority to suspend and/or expel any officer or member thereof, and/or to suspend and/or revoke their charter subject first to an appeal to the Executive Council and thereafter to the next regular convention immediately following. The President, with the approval of the Executive Council, shall likewise have authority and be empowered to safeguard and protect and if necessary take immediate charge of all equities and properties, tangible or intangible, acquired and/or possessed by State Federations of Labor, City Central Labor Unions and Local and Federal Labor Unions or their subsidiaries or agents, whenever or however such equities and/or properties may be jeopardized through disobedience to the Constitution, laws, rules and requirements of the American Federation of Labor or for any other reason or cause deemed imperative by the President and the Executive Council, and shall hold same in trust as provided by the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

Disciplinary action by the President shall consist of "emergency action" and "decisions," the latter being subject to the appeal to the Executive Council hereinbefore provided. "Emergency action" shall be taken when in the opinion of the President it is necessary to preserve the rights of the American Federation of Labor, or of any affiliate mentioned in this section, or of any officers or members thereof, and for the purpose of preserving the status quo. Emergency action shall be effective only for 45 days unless within such 45 days written charges are caused to be served on the affiliate involved, or on the officers or members involved if they are individually charged. If such charges are served them the emergency action shall stand until a trial is had before the President or a representative designated by him to hear them. Such trial shall commence within 45 days after the charges have been served. If the trial is before a representative designated by the President he shall report his findings orally or in writing to the President, who shall, within 15 days, render a decision in the matter. Such decision shall consist of a dismissal of the charges if found untrue or that they, or part of them, are sustained, whereupon the President shall take such disciplinary action as hereinbefore authorized. Such action shall constitute the President's "decision," but shall be subject to change or modi-

fication by him before an appeal to the Executive Council is acted upon. An appeal to the Executive Council shall be in writing and mailed to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor within 15 days after the President has rendered his decision. Pending an appeal, the decision of the President shall remain in full force and effect.

ARTICLE VII.—DUTIES OF SECRETARY-TREASURER

SECTION 1. The duties of the Secretary-Treasurer shall be to take charge of all moneys, property, securities and other evidence of investment, books, papers and effects of the general office; to conduct the correspondence pertaining to his office; to furnish the elective officers with the necessary stationery; to convene and act as Secretary at the regular and special conventions, and to furnish the Committee on Credentials at the convention a statement of financial standing of each affiliated body; to forward on March 1st and September 1st of each year to the secretaries of all affiliated organizations a list of the names and addresses of all secretaries and organizers.

SEC. 2. The Secretary-Treasurer shall keep all letters, documents, accounts, etc., in such manner as the regular and special conventions may direct; he shall receive and collect all moneys due the Federation which shall be paid out only on the approval of the President.

SEC. 3. The Secretary-Treasurer shall collect the interest on all interest bearing securities or other deposit at the expiration of each interest period. The Secretary-Treasurer shall deposit in open account in bank or banks in the name of the American Federation of Labor and as Secretary-Treasurer all amounts in his possession not in certificates of deposit or invested interest-bearing securities, and before any money thus deposited can be withdrawn each check shall be signed by him as Secretary-Treasurer. A copy of this section shall be forwarded by the President of the Federation to each bank upon which the Federation holds certificates of deposit.

SEC. 4. The Secretary-Treasurer shall pay all warrants regularly drawn when signed by the President or his authorized agent as required by this constitution, and none others.

SEC. 5. The Secretary-Treasurer shall issue stamps to Local and Federal Labor Unions, which shall be used by such unions with which to receipt for members' dues.

SEC. 6. It shall be the duty of each International, National, Local Trade and Federal Labor Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to furnish to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor a copy of all official reports issued by such affiliated organizations containing a statement of their membership in good standing and to furnish such additional statistical data as may be called for by the Secretary-Treasurer

of the American Federation of Labor as may be in the possession of the respective unions.

SEC. 7. The Secretary-Treasurer shall give a bond for the faithful performance of his duties in such amount as may be determined by the Executive Council, and shall report to the annual convention of the Federation through the report of the Executive Council, and for his services he shall receive \$18,000 per annum, payable weekly.

SEC. 8. The Secretary-Treasurer shall submit to the Auditing Committee for their inspection, vouchers for all moneys expended; close all accounts of the Federation on August 31 of each year and all moneys received or disbursed after such date shall not be reported in the general balance account of the ensuing convention. He shall print the financial statement quarterly as a separate document and forward copy to all affiliated National and International Unions, State Federations of Labor, City Central Bodies and directly affiliated Local Unions.

ARTICLE VIII.—DUTIES OF FINANCE COMMITTEE

SECTION 1. The Executive Council shall appoint three of its members as a Finance Committee, of which the President shall be one. This Finance Committee with the Secretary-Treasurer, shall be clothed with authority to invest the surplus funds of the Federation in sound securities, or to deposit same in bank or banks in interest-bearing certificates of deposit. Surplus funds of the American Federation of Labor shall be invested in sound securities or shall be deposited by the Secretary-Treasurer in bank or banks in interest-bearing certificates of deposit in the name of the American Federation of Labor as directed by the Finance Committee, and in order to be cashed shall require the signatures of the Secretary-Treasurer or his authorized agent, and the President or his authorized agent.

SEC. 2. All securities and other evidence of investment shall be placed in a safe deposit box in the name of the American Federation of Labor in a bank selected by the Finance Committee, and access to said box shall only be had jointly by the Secretary-Treasurer and the President or the Secretary-Treasurer and at least one member of the Finance Committee designated by the President.

ARTICLE IX.—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the Executive Council to watch legislative measures directly affecting the interests of working people, and to initiate, whenever necessary, such legislative action as the convention may direct.

SEC. 2. The Executive Council shall use every possible means to organ-

ize new National or International Trade or Labor Unions, and to organize Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, and connect them with the Federation until such time as there is a sufficient number to form a National or International Union, when it shall be the duty of the President of the Federation to see that such organization is formed.

SEC. 3. When a National or International Union has been formed, the President shall notify all Local Unions of that trade to affiliate with such National or International Union, and unless said notification be complied with, within three months, their charters shall be revoked.

SEC. 4. The Executive Council shall also prepare and present to the convention, in printed form, a concise statement of the details leading up to approved and pending boycotts (and all matters of interest to the convention), and no indorsement for a boycott shall be considered by the convention except it has been so reported by the Executive Council.

SEC. 5. While we recognize the right of each trade to manage its own affairs, it shall be the duty of the Executive Council to secure the unification of all labor organizations, so far as to assist each other in any trade dispute.

SEC. 6. Whenever the revenue of the Federation shall warrant such action, the Executive Council shall authorize the sending out of Trade Union speakers from place to place in the interests of the Federation.

SEC. 7. The salaries of organizers of the American Federation of Labor shall be determined by the Executive Council, in addition to which they shall receive railroad fare and hotel expenses when traveling away from the city in which they reside. The remuneration for services of members of the Executive Council, fraternal delegates, interpreters and speakers or other persons temporarily employed by the American Federation of Labor shall be determined by the Executive Council.

SEC. 8. The Executive Council shall have power to make the rules to govern matters not in conflict with this constitution, or the constitution of affiliated unions, and shall report accordingly to the Federation.

SEC. 9. In the event of a vacancy of any member of the Executive Council other than that of the President, by reason of death, resignation or other cause, the President shall make such vacancy known to the Executive Council, and shall call for nominations. The names of all nominees shall be submitted to the Executive Council, and it shall require a majority vote of the Executive Council to elect. Upon each unsuccessful balloting the name of the candidate receiving the lowest number of votes shall be dropped.

SEC. 10. All Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions holding charters direct from the American Federation of Labor, desiring the assistance of the American Federation of Labor in trade disputes, shall submit to the President of the American Federation of Labor for approval by the

Executive Council the full statement of the grievance, and shall receive within twenty (20) days from the President an answer as to whether they will be sustained or not, and no benefits shall be paid where a strike takes place before the Local Union has received the approval of the Executive Council.

SEC. 11. No charter shall be granted by the American Federation of Labor to any National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant, and the charter shall not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed is a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions, without the written consent of such unions; no affiliated International, National or Local Union shall be permitted to change its title or name, if any trespass is made thereby on the jurisdiction of an affiliated organization, without having first obtained the consent and approval of a convention of the American Federation of Labor; and it is further provided that should any of the members of such National, International, Trade or Federal Labor Union work at any other vocation, trade, or profession, they shall join the union of such vocation, trade, or profession provided such are organized and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 12. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall only have power to revoke the charter of an affiliated National or International Union when the revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds majority of a regular or special convention of the American Federation of Labor by a roll-call vote.

A National or International Union chartered by and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor can be suspended from membership in the American Federation of Labor only by a majority vote of the duly accredited delegates in attendance at any session of a convention, voting in accordance with the provisions of Section 3 of Article IV of this constitution, except in cases where two (2) or more National or International Unions unite and conspire to launch, create or maintain an organization dual and rival to the American Federation of Labor. In that event, charges may be filed against said organization or organizations, a hearing shall be held upon said charges by the Executive Council and, if found guilty by it, said organization or organizations may be suspended from affiliation with the American Federation of Labor by the Executive Council with the right of appealing to the next succeeding annual convention of the American Federation of Labor. If appeal is taken, the suspended union, or unions, will have the right of appearing before the convention committees and the convention itself, but without the right to vote.

SEC. 13. The Executive Council shall be authorized and empowered to take such actions and render such decisions as may be necessary to carry out fully and adequately all provisions contained in the constitution and

general laws, as well as declarations and decisions of the conventions, and it shall be authorized and empowered to take such further actions and render such further decisions during the interim of conventions as may become necessary to safeguard and promote the best interest of the Federation and of all its affiliated unions.

ARTICLE X.—REVENUE

SECTION 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies, as follows: From International or National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of one and one-half ($1\frac{1}{2}$) cents per member per month up to 300,000 members, and one (1) cent per member per month for members in excess of 300,000; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, thirty-five and one-half ($35\frac{1}{2}$) cents per member per month, eight and one-half ($8\frac{1}{2}$) cents of which must be set aside to be used only in the case of strike or lockout unless otherwise ordered by the Executive Council; the amount received by the American Federation of Labor on each initiation fee from all directly affiliated local unions shall be 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by the local union from the individual, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than \$1; from Central and State bodies, \$10 per year, payable quarterly. Revenue may also be derived from assessments when and as ordered by a majority vote of a regular or special convention.

SEC. 2. Delegates shall not be entitled to a seat in the regular or special conventions unless the tax and assessments of their organization, as provided for in Section 1, Article X, and assessments as provided in Article XII, Sections 1 and 2, have been paid in full to the second month preceding the regular or special convention.

SEC. 3. Any organization affiliated with this Federation not paying its per capita tax on or before the 15th of each month, and assessment or assessments when due and payable, shall be notified of the fact by the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation, and if at the end of three months it is still in arrears it shall become suspended from membership by the Federation, and can be reinstated only by a vote of the convention when such arrearages are paid in full, as provided in Section 2 of this Article.

ARTICLE XI.—LOCAL CENTRAL BODIES

SECTION 1. No Central Labor Union or any other central body of delegates, shall admit to or retain in their councils delegates from any local organization that owes its allegiance to any other body, National or International, hostile to any affiliated organization, or that has been suspended or

expelled by, or not connected with a National or International organization of their trade herein affiliated; nor are delegates to be seated from Locals of National or International organizations which are not affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, under penalty of having their charter revoked for violation of their charter by the President or the Executive Council, subject to appeal to the next convention.

SEC. 2. It shall be the duty of all National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their Local Unions to join chartered Central Labor Bodies, Departments, and State Federations in their vicinity where such exist. Similar instruction shall be given by the American Federation of Labor to all Trade and Federal Labor Unions under its jurisdiction.

SEC. 3. Where there are five or more Local Unions in any city belonging to any National or International Union affiliated with this Federation they may organize a Central Labor Union, or shall join such body if already in existence.

SEC. 4. The Executive Council and Local Central Labor Unions shall use all possible means to organize and connect as Local Unions to National or International Unions the organizations in their vicinity; to aid the formation of National or International Unions where none exist, and to organize Federal Labor Unions where the number of craftsmen precludes any other form of organization.

SEC. 5. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have the authority or power to order any organization, affiliated with such Central Labor Union, or other central labor body, to strike, or to take a strike vote, where such organization has a national organization, until the proper authorities of such National or International organization have been consulted and agreed to such action. A violation of this law shall be sufficient cause for the President or Executive Council to revoke the charter.

SEC. 6. Separate charters may be issued to Central Labor Unions, Local Unions, or Federal Labor Unions, composed exclusively of colored members, where, in the judgment of the Executive Council, it appears advisable and to the best interest of the Trade Union movement to do so.

SEC. 7. No central Labor Union or other Central Body of delegates shall have power or authority to originate a boycott, nor shall such bodies endorse and order the placing of the name of any person, firm or corporation on an unfair list that has agreements with any International or National Union or Local Unions until the National or International Unions or Local Unions having such agreements are informed of the request made upon the Central Body of delegates and such International, National or Local Unions working under agreements that may be affected have had reasonable time to intercede and until the Local Union desiring such action by

the Central Body has, before declaring the boycott, submitted the matter in dispute to the Central Body for investigation and the best endeavors on its part to effect an amicable settlement.

Failure to reach an understanding between the unions involved, the entire matter shall be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, which shall be empowered to grant or refuse such request.

SEC. 8. No Central Body or Department affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall reject credentials presented by a duly elected or appointed delegation of a Local Union chartered by a National or an International Union having affiliation with the American Federation of Labor; provided, however, that upon written charges, signed by at least three delegates, any delegate of an affiliated union may, upon conviction after a fair trial, be expelled or suspended. Action of the Central Body under this section shall be subject to appeal to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and no delegation representing Local Unions affiliated, as herein described, shall be suspended or expelled until like action is taken.

SEC. 9. No Central Body shall take part in the adjustment of wage contracts, wage disputes or working rules of Local Unions affiliated with a National or International Union, unless the laws of the National or International Union permit, except upon the request or consent of the executive officer of the National or International Union affected.

SEC. 10. Local Unions of National or International Unions affiliated with the Departments attached to the American Federation of Labor, in any city where a Local Department exists, shall not be eligible to membership in any Local Department unless they are connected with the chartered Central Body, nor shall they be eligible to membership in the Central Body unless they are affiliated with the Local Department.

SEC. 11. The representation of Local Unions entitled to affiliation in Central Labor Unions shall be as follows: Local Unions having 50 members or less, 2 delegates; from 51 to 100 members, 3 delegates; 101 to 250 members, 4 delegates; 251 to 500 members, 5 delegates; one additional delegate to be allowed for each additional 500 members or majority fraction thereof.

ARTICLE XII.—ASSESSMENT IN DEFENSE OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS

SECTION 1. The Executive Council shall have power to declare a levy of 1 cent per member per week on all affiliated unions for a period not exceeding 10 weeks in any one year, to assist in the support of an affiliated National or International Union engaged in a protracted strike or lockout.

SEC. 2. Any union, International, National, or Local, failing to pay within 60 days the levies declared in accordance with Section 1 shall be deprived of representation in convention of the American Federation of Labor and in City Central Bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

ARTICLE XIII.—DEFENSE FUND FOR LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

SECTION 1. Unless otherwise ordered by the Executive Council, the moneys of the Defense Fund shall be drawn only to sustain strikes or lock-outs of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions when such strikes or lock-outs are authorized, endorsed, and conducted in conformity with the following provisions of this Article:

SEC. 2. In the event of a disagreement between a Local Union and an employer which, in the opinion of the Local Union, may result in a strike, such union shall notify the President of the American Federation of Labor, who shall investigate, or cause an investigation to be made of the disagreement, and endeavor to adjust the difficulty. If his efforts should prove futile, he shall take such steps as he may deem necessary in notifying the Executive Council, and if the majority of said Council shall decide that a strike is necessary such union shall be authorized to order a strike, but that under no circumstances shall a strike or lockout be deemed legal, or moneys expended from the Defense Fund on that account, unless the strike or lockout shall have been first authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council.

SEC. 3. When a strike has been authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council, the president of the Local Union interested shall, within 24 hours, call a meeting of said union, of which every member shall be regularly notified, to take action thereon, and no member shall vote on such question unless he is in good standing. Should three-fourths of the members present decide, by secret ballot, on a strike, the president of the Local Union shall immediately notify the President of the American Federation of Labor of the cause of the matter in dispute, what the wages, hours and conditions of labor then are; what advances, if any, are sought; what reductions are offered, if any; state the number employed and unemployed; the state of trade generally in the locality, and the number of persons involved, union and nonunion; also the number of members who would become entitled to the benefits herein provided should the application be authorized and approved.

SEC. 4. No local shall be entitled to benefit from the Defense Fund unless it has been in continuous good standing for one year; and no mem-

ber shall be entitled to benefit from said Defense Fund unless he has been a member in good standing in the American Federation of Labor for at least one year.

SEC. 5. When a strike has been inaugurated under the provisions of Sections 2 and 3, the American Federation of Labor shall pay to the bonded officer of the union involved, or his order, for a period of six weeks, an amount equal to seven (7) dollars per week for each member. Each Local Union shall require its treasurer to give proper bond for the safekeeping and disbursement of all funds of the Local. No benefit shall be paid for the first two weeks of the strike. The Executive Council shall have the power to authorize the payment of strike benefits for an additional period.

SEC. 6. No member of a Local Union on strike shall be entitled to weekly benefits unless he reports daily to the proper officer of the Local Union while the strike continues, and no member who shall receive a week's work, three days to be a week, shall receive benefits. Any member refusing other work while on strike (providing said work is not in conflict with labor's interests) shall not be entitled to any benefits.

SEC. 7. Any union inaugurating a strike without the approval of the Executive Council shall not receive benefits on account of said strike.

SEC. 8. In case of lockout or the victimization of members, the Executive Council shall have power to pay benefits if, upon investigation, it is found that the Local Union whose members are involved did not by their actions or demands provoke the lockout by their employer.

SEC. 9. During the continuance of a strike the executive board of the Local Union shall make weekly reports to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, showing the amount of money distributed for benefits and to whom paid, furnishing individual receipts to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor from all members to whom such benefits have been paid, and all other facts that may be required.

SEC. 10. Before a strike shall be declared off a special meeting of the union shall be called for that purpose, and it shall require a majority vote of all members present to decide the question either way.

SEC. 11. In the event of the Defense Fund becoming dangerously low through protracted strike or lockout, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall have the power to levy an assessment of 10 cents on each member of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, assessments to be restricted to not more than five per year; and further, that there shall always be a surplus of five thousand dollars (\$5,000) in the Defense Fund.

SEC. 12. No Local shall be entitled to any of the benefits of the Defense Fund unless it requires its members to pay not less than one dollar (\$1.00) per month. The financial secretaries and the treasurers of each Local Trade

or Federal Labor Union directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor shall, through the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation, bond said financial officers in such sum as shall be adequate to protect its funds.

SEC. 13. Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall set aside for the maintenance of a local defense fund not less than 5 cents a month from each member.

SEC. 14. That initiation fees charged by directly affiliated Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall not be less than \$2.00 nor more than \$15.00, and that 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by such Local Trade or Federal Labor Union from each individual shall be forwarded to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than one dollar (\$1.00), together with the per capita tax, accompanied by a monthly report giving the number of members paid for, and names of those initiated, reinstated, suspended and expelled, and number of members upon whom back per capita tax is being paid and months paid for, on blanks to be furnished by the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation. When dues are paid, the financial secretary of the Local Union shall place a per-capita tax stamp in the member's due book. These stamps must be used. Suspended members can be reinstated only by the payment of three months' back per capita tax, in addition to the tax for the current month, and a fee of one dollar (\$1.00) for reinstatement stamps.

SEC. 15. That traveling cards issued to members by Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall admit members presenting the same to membership in Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 16. That Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall be prohibited from assessing their members or appropriating their funds for any purpose other than union or American Federation of Labor purposes. That each directly affiliated union shall forward monthly to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor a complete statement of all funds received and expended.

SEC. 17. No Local Trade or Federal Labor union, or Central Body or State Branch, shall disband so long as seven members or five Local Unions desire to retain the charter. Upon the dissolution, the suspension or the revocation of the charter of any Local Trade or Federal Labor Union, or Central Body or State Branch, all funds and property of any character shall revert to the American Federation of Labor, to be held in trust until such time that the suspended or defunct organization may be reorganized and ready to confine its activities and actions to conform with recognized enforceable laws of the American Federation of Labor. It shall further be the duty of the officers of the Local Trade or Federal Labor Union or Central Body or State Branch, which has been dissolved, or whose charter has been

suspended or revoked to deliver all funds and property to the President of the American Federation of Labor or a representative whom he may designate for that purpose.

ARTICLE XIV.—MISCELLANEOUS

SECTION 1. Certificates of affiliation shall be granted by the President of the Federation, by and with the consent of the Executive Council, to all National and International Unions and local bodies affiliated with this Federation.

SEC. 2. The Executive Council is authorized and empowered to charter Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, to determine their respective jurisdictions not in conflict with National and International Unions, to determine the minimum number of members required, qualifications for membership, and to make rules and regulations relating to their conduct, activities and affairs from time to time and as in its judgment is warranted or deemed advisable.

SEC. 3. The certificate fee for affiliated bodies shall be five dollars (\$5.00), payable to the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation, and the fee shall accompany the application.

SEC. 4. The American Federation of Labor shall refer all applications for certificates of affiliation from Local Unions or Federal Labor Unions from a vicinity where a chartered Central Labor Union exists to that body for investigation and approval.

SEC. 5. Certificates of affiliation shall not be granted by State Federations of Labor. That power is vested solely in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the executive officers of National and International Unions affiliated therewith.

SEC. 6. Fraternal delegates attending the convention of the American Federation of Labor shall be entitled to all the rights of delegates from Central Bodies.

ARTICLE XV.—GENERAL RULES GOVERNING DEPARTMENTS OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

SECTION 1. For the greater development of the labor movement, departments subordinate to the American Federation of Labor are to be established from time to time as in the judgment of the American Federation of Labor, or its Executive Council, may be deemed advisable. Each department is to manage and finance its own affairs.

SEC. 2. To be entitled to representation in any department, organizations eligible to join it must first be and remain in affiliation to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 3. To be entitled to representation in local councils, or railway system federations of departments, Local Unions are required to be part of affiliated National or International Unions affiliated to departments or directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. Said Local Unions shall first be and remain in affiliation to Central Labor Unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. The fundamental laws and procedure of each department are to conform to, and be administered in the same manner as the laws and procedure governing the American Federation of Labor. No Department, Local Council or Railway System Federation of same shall enact laws, rules, or regulations in conflict with the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor, and in the event of change of laws and procedure of the latter, Department, Local Councils, and Railway System Federations are to change their laws and procedure to conform thereto.

SEC. 5. Each Department to be considered the official method of the American Federation of Labor for transacting the portion of its business indicated by the name of the Department, in consequence of which affiliated and eligible organizations should be part of their respective departments and should comply with their actions and decisions, subject to appeal therefrom to the Executive Council and the conventions of the American Federation of Labor. When an organization has interests in departments other than the one of its principal affiliation, in which it shall pay per capita tax upon its entire membership, it is to be represented in and pay per capita tax to the other departments upon the number of members whose occupations come under such other departments, but this, in no instance, shall be less than 20 per cent of the membership upon which it pays per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 6. Departments of the American Federation of Labor are to have their headquarters located in the city of Washington, D. C., and if possible in the same building with the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, unless there are reasons to the contrary satisfactory to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 7. Departments of the American Federation of Labor shall hold their conventions immediately before or after the convention of the American Federation of Labor and in the same city where the convention of the American Federation of Labor is held, at which time and place their laws and procedure shall be made to conform to the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor and to go into effect the first day of January immediately following, to conform to the date when the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor go into effect. For reasons of transportation, expediency and the methods of representation the Railway, Metal Trades and Mining Departments may hold conventions at other dates and places, and in that event said departments shall authorize their executive

boards to have said departments' laws conform to the preceding portion of this section.

SEC. 8. The executive council of each department shall consist of not more than nine members, including the executive officer or officers thereof. This not to apply to or interfere with the procedure on this subject found to be essential in the Railway Department.

SEC. 9. The officers of each Department shall report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor that the Department has conformed to the laws, procedure and actions of the American Federation of Labor as they affect each Department.

SEC. 10. In the Building Trades Department (on the basis of its law of 1913), organizations having seven or more delegates, each such delegate shall, on roll call, be entitled to two votes. A roll call shall be held upon the demand of one-fourth of all delegates whose credentials have been accepted and who have been seated in the conventions.

SEC. 11. The officers of the various Departments shall submit a quarterly report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor of the work done by their Department, and its general conditions.

SEC. 12. At all regular meetings of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor there shall be present, during some period of the Council meeting, the executive officer or officers of each Department, to take up with the Council matters that may be of mutual interest.

SEC. 13. A page of each issue of the *American Federationist* to be available to and to be used by each Department for official report or for publication of some subject identified with the Department, each Department to designate its officer to submit the report.

ARTICLE XVI.—AMENDMENTS

This constitution can be amended or altered only at a regular session of the convention and to do so it shall require a two-thirds vote.

CONSTITUTION OF CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS 1944

ARTICLE I—NAME

This organization shall be known as the "Congress of Industrial Organizations" (CIO).

ARTICLE II—OBJECTS

The objects of the organization are:

First. To bring about the effective organization of the working men and women of America regardless of race, creed, color, or nationality, and to unite them for common action into labor unions for their mutual aid and protection.

Second. To extend the benefits of collective bargaining and to secure for the workers means to establish peaceful relations with their employers, by forming labor unions capable of dealing with modern aggregates of industry and finance.

Third. To maintain determined adherence to obligations and responsibilities under collective bargaining and wage agreements.

Fourth. To secure legislation safeguarding the economic security and social welfare of the workers of America, to protect and extend our democratic institutions and civil rights and liberties, and thus to perpetuate the cherished traditions of our democracy.

ARTICLE III—AFFILIATES

SECTION 1. The Organization shall be composed of affiliated national and international unions, organizing committees, local industrial unions and industrial union councils.

SEC. 2. Certificates of affiliation shall be issued to national and international unions and organizing committees by the Executive Board.

SEC. 3. Certificates of affiliation shall be issued to local industrial unions by the Executive Board. The Executive Board shall issue rules governing

the conduct, activities, affairs, and the suspension and expulsion of local industrial unions. It shall be the duty of the Executive Board to combine local industrial unions into national or international unions or organizing committees. Any local industrial union or group of local industrial unions may request the Executive Board to authorize such combination. The decision of the Executive Board may be appealed to the convention, provided, however, that pending the appeal the decision shall remain in full force and effect.

SEC. 4. Certificates of affiliation shall be issued to industrial union councils by the Executive Board. Industrial Union Councils shall be organized upon a city, state or other regional basis as may be deemed advisable by the Executive Board and shall be composed of the locals of national unions, international unions and organizing committees, and local industrial unions and local industrial union councils within the territorial limits of such council. It shall be the duty of national and international unions and organizing committees to direct their locals to affiliate with the proper industrial union councils. It shall be the duty of all local industrial unions and local industrial union councils to affiliate with the proper industrial union councils. The Executive Board shall issue rules governing the conduct, activities, affairs, and the suspension and expulsion of industrial union councils. The decision of the Executive Board may be appealed to the convention, provided, however, that pending the appeal the decision shall remain in full force and effect.

SEC. 5. The number of members in each national or international union, organizing committee, and local industrial union for any purpose under the constitution shall be the number of members for which per capita dues have been paid and the number of members for which exoneration has been granted by the Executive Board, pursuant to the constitution. It shall be the duty of each affiliate to furnish reports to the Organization showing its membership.

SEC. 6. National or international unions and organizing committees may not be suspended or expelled except upon a two-thirds vote at the convention. This provision may not be amended except by a two-thirds vote at the convention.

ARTICLE IV—OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVE BOARD

SECTION 1. The officers shall consist of a president, nine vice presidents and a secretary-treasurer. Each officer shall be a member of an affiliate, shall be elected by a majority of the votes cast at each regular convention, shall serve for the term of one year and shall assume office immediately upon election. In the event that more than two candidates are nominated for any one of the foregoing offices, and no one candidate receives a majority of the

votes cast, all except the two candidates receiving the highest votes shall be eliminated from the list of candidates, and a second vote taken.

SEC. 2. In the event of a vacancy in the office of the President, Vice President or Secretary-Treasurer by death, resignation or otherwise, the Executive Board by majority vote of all its members shall determine the successor, who shall serve the unexpired term, or until a successor for the unexpired term is chosen at a special convention, which may be called for that purpose. In the event of such a vacancy in the office of the President, the Secretary-Treasurer shall within ten days from the date of the vacancy call a special meeting of the Executive Board upon ten days' notice for the purpose of determining the successor.

SEC. 3. The convention shall elect the Executive Board which shall be composed of one member from each affiliated national and international union and organizing committee. Each such affiliate shall nominate one of its duly qualified officers for such membership to the Executive Board. The President, Vice Presidents and Secretary-Treasurer shall be members of the Executive Board by virtue of their office.

SEC. 4. In the event of a vacancy in the membership of the Executive Board other than the officers, due to termination of office in the affiliate which nominated the member, or to death or resignation or otherwise, the Executive Board shall determine the successor who shall serve the unexpired term. The affiliate shall nominate one of its duly qualified officers for such successor.

SEC. 5. National headquarters shall be maintained at Washington, D.C.

ARTICLE V—THE DUTIES OF THE OFFICERS

President

SECTION 1. The President shall preside over the convention and meetings of the Executive Board, exercise supervision of the affairs of the Organization, and function as the chief executive officer.

SEC. 2. The President shall interpret the meaning of the Constitution and his interpretation shall be subject to review by the Executive Board. Between sessions of the Executive Board he shall have full power to direct the affairs of the Organization, and his acts shall be reported to the Executive Board for its approval.

SEC. 3. The President shall have authority, subject to the approval of the Executive Board, to appoint, direct, suspend or remove, such organizers, representatives, agents and employees as he may deem necessary.

SEC. 4. The President shall make full reports of the administration of his office and of the affairs of the Organization to the convention.

Vice Presidents

SEC. 5. The Vice Presidents shall assist the President in the performance of his duties. Each Vice President shall carry out such special assignments as may be necessary in the judgment of the President to advance the work of the organization.

Secretary-Treasurer

SEC. 6. The Secretary-Treasurer shall cause to be recorded the proceedings of all conventions and all sessions of the Executive Board. He shall have charge of and preserve the books and records, files, documents and effects of the Organization. He shall provide for a semi-annual audit of the books and financial records of the Organization which shall be reported to the Executive Board. He shall be bonded for the security of the Organization's funds and for the faithful performance of his duties in an amount to be determined by the Executive Board.

SEC. 7. The Secretary-Treasurer shall perform such other duties as may be assigned to him by the President or the Executive Board. The salary of the Secretary-Treasurer shall be fixed by the Executive Board.

ARTICLE VI—DUTIES OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD

SECTION 1. The Executive Board shall enforce the constitution and carry out the instructions of the conventions, and between conventions shall have power to direct the affairs of the Organization.

SEC. 2. The Executive Board may establish bureaus and departments and create such committees as may be necessary to the affairs of the Organization.

SEC. 3. The Executive Board shall make the necessary arrangements for the maintenance of financial books and records, the receipt of all funds due the Organization, the deposit, investment, holding and disbursement of such funds. The Executive Board may appoint such employees as may be necessary for these purposes. Real estate necessary to the affairs of the Organization may be acquired, held, leased, mortgaged and disposed of by the Executive Board in the names of the Officers, and their successors in office, as trustees for the Organization.

SEC. 4. The Executive Board members shall attend all regular and special meetings and shall perform such duties as may be assigned to them.

SEC. 5. The Executive Board shall hold at least two regular meetings each year. Special meetings of the Board shall be convened by the President when necessary or when requested by a majority of the members of the Executive Board. A quorum of the Executive Board shall be a majority of the members. Questions coming before the Executive Board shall be decided

by a majority vote of its members present at a quorum, except as otherwise provided in the Constitution. Any member may demand a roll call vote on any question, and in such event, each Executive Board member shall cast as many votes as there are members of his affiliate. The number of members of each affiliate for such purpose shall be determined as of the month preceding the month in which the meeting is held. Where a roll call vote is taken, the officers shall have no vote except the President, who shall cast the deciding vote in the case of a tie.

SEC. 6. Any dispute between two or more affiliates may be submitted to the Executive Board which shall make such recommendations to the parties in dispute as it shall deem advisable and report to the convention.

SEC. 7. The Executive Board shall have the power to file charges and conduct hearings on such charges against any officer of the Organization or other member of the Executive Board, on the ground that such person is guilty of malfeasance or maladministration, and to make a report to the convention recommending appropriate action. The Executive Board must serve such officer with a copy of the written charges a reasonable time before the hearing.

SEC. 8. The Executive Board shall have the power to investigate any situation involving an affiliate on the ground that such affiliate is conducting its affairs and activities contrary to the provisions of the Constitution, and to make recommendations to the affiliate involved and to make a report to the convention.

SEC. 9. The Executive Board shall provide for the regular audit of the books and accounts of the Organization.

SEC. 10. The Executive Board shall report its actions, decisions and management of the affairs of the Organization to the convention.

SEC. 11. The members of the Executive Board shall be paid all legitimate expenses incurred in performing their duties as members of the Executive Board.

SEC. 12. The Executive Board shall have the power to adopt such rules, not inconsistent with the Constitution, as it may deem necessary to carry out its duties and powers.

ARTICLE VII—CONVENTION

SECTION 1. The convention shall be the supreme authority of the Organization and except as otherwise provided in the Constitution, its decisions shall be by a majority vote.

SEC. 2. A convention shall be held each year during the months of October or November at a time and place designated by the Executive Board. The Executive Board shall give at least 30 days' notice of the time and

place which it so designates. Special conventions may be called upon 30 days' notice by the Executive Board.

SEC. 3. The Call for a special convention must include a statement of the particular subject or subjects to be considered at the convention and no other business shall be transacted at such convention. A special convention shall be governed by the provisions for regular conventions.

SEC. 4. A majority of the delegates seated shall constitute a quorum.

SEC. 5. Each national and international union and organizing committee and each local industrial union shall be entitled to one vote for each member. Each industrial union council shall be entitled to one vote.

SEC. 6. Each national or international union and organizing committee shall be entitled to the number of delegates indicated in the following scale:

Up to 5,000 membership, 2 delegates

Over 5,000 membership, 3 delegates

Over 10,000 membership, 4 delegates

Over 25,000 membership, 5 delegates

Over 50,000 membership, 6 delegates

Over 75,000 membership, 7 delegates

100,000 membership, 8 delegates for the first 100,000 members and one additional delegate for each additional 50,000 or majority fraction thereof.

Each local industrial union and industrial union council shall be entitled to one delegate. Local industrial unions may combine with other local industrial unions in a reasonable distance of one another and elect delegates to represent them.

SEC. 7. Any affiliate which, at the opening date of the convention, is in arrears to the Organization for per capita tax for two months or more shall not be entitled to representation to the convention.

SEC. 8. The number of members of each national and international union, organizing committee and local industrial union for the purpose of the convention shall be the average monthly number on which per capita tax is paid or exoneration granted for the year prior to and including the second month preceding the month of the opening date of the convention; provided, that where affiliation has occurred during the year the average shall be computed from the month of affiliation. The Secretary-Treasurer shall submit to the convention a printed list showing the number of votes and delegates to which each affiliate is entitled.

SEC. 9. Questions may be decided by a division or show of hands. A roll call may be demanded by the delegates representing thirty (30) per cent or more of the total numbers of votes at the convention.

SEC. 10. Not less than 30 days prior to the opening of the convention, the Secretary shall furnish each affiliate with credential blanks in duplicate, which must be attested as required on the blanks. The duplicate shall be retained by the delegate, and the original sent to the Secretary, and no credentials shall be accepted later than ten days prior to the opening date of the convention.

SEC. 11. Prior to the opening date of the convention, the Executive Board shall meet and constitute itself or a subcommittee as the Credentials Committee for the convention. Appeals from its decisions shall lie to the floor of the convention. The convention shall not be constituted for business until after the Credentials Committee shall have examined and reported on credentials of all delegates present at the scheduled time on the opening date of the convention.

SEC. 12. All members of the Executive Board who are not elected as delegates shall be ex-officio delegates to the convention with all the rights and privileges of elected delegates, but without vote.

SEC. 13. All resolutions, appeals, and constitutional amendments to be considered by the convention shall be sent not less than ten days prior to the opening date of the convention to the Secretary, who shall sort and distribute them among the chairmen of appropriate committees.

SEC. 14. The President shall appoint, prior to the opening date of the convention and subject to the approval of the convention, such committees as are necessary to conduct the affairs of the convention. Such committees shall meet before the opening date of the convention and shall proceed to consider all resolutions, appeals, reports, and constitutional amendments submitted to the convention.

ARTICLE VIII—REVENUE

SECTION 1. Each national and international union and organizing committee shall pay on or before the 15th of each month, for the preceding month, a per capita tax of five cents per member per month.

SEC. 2. Each local industrial union shall pay on the 15th of each month, for the preceding month, a per capita tax of fifty cents per member per month. The local industrial unions shall also pay to the Organization one-half of the initiation fee received by such local industrial union from its members, which payment to the Organization shall in no case be less than \$1 per member.

SEC. 3. The Executive Board may exonerate any national and international union, organizing committee and local industrial union from the payment of per capita tax due to the Organization for any month for the members in good standing of such affiliate who are unemployed due to strike, lock-out or other involuntary cause.

SEC. 4. Each affiliate, upon the issuance of a certificate of affiliation, shall pay to the Organization the sum of \$25.

SEC. 5. Each industrial union council shall pay to the Organization an annual fee of \$25.

ARTICLE IX

This constitution, except as otherwise provided, may be amended by a majority vote at the convention.

ARTICLE X

This constitution shall become effective immediately upon its adoption.

SELECTED LIST OF GENERAL BOOKS ON LABOR UNIONS¹

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- BROOKS, R. R. R., *When Labor Organizes*. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1937.
- CLARK & SIMON, *The Labor Movement in America*. W. W. Norton, New York, 1938.
- COMMONS, JOHN R. and ASSOCIATES, *History of Labor in the United States to 1896*. Macmillan, New York, 1918.
- FAULKNER and STARR, *Labor in America* (for high-school use). Harper & Brothers, New York, 1944.
- GALENSON, WALTER, *Rival Unionism in the United States*. American Council on Public Affairs, Washington, D.C., 1941.
- GOMPERS, SAMUEL, *Seventy Years of Life and Labor*. E. P. Dutton & Co., 1925.
- HARRIS, HERBERT, *American Labor*. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1939.
- JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY studies on *American Trade Unions*. Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1912.
- LORWIN, L. L., *The American Federation of Labor*. Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C., 1933.
- MARQUAND, H. A., *Organized Labor in Four Continents*. Longmans, Green & Company, New York, 1939.
- MILLIS, HARRY A. and ASSOCIATES, *How Collective Bargaining Works*. The Twentieth Century Fund, New York, 1942.
- MILLIS and MONTGOMERY, *Organized Labor*. McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1945.
- PERLMAN, SELIG, *A Theory of the Labor Movement*. Macmillan, New York, 1928.

¹ This is a limited list of references to books dealing with the general subject of labor unions and the labor movement. There are, of course, numerous other books and other literature dealing with labor problems, as well as particular labor unions and their activities. For a comprehensive bibliography on all subjects affecting labor and the labor movement the reader is referred to *A Trade Union Library*, published by the Industrial Relations Section of Princeton University, Princeton, N.J.

PERLMAN & TAFT, *History of Labor in the United States 1896-1932*. Macmillan, New York, 1935.

PETERSON, FLORENCE, *Handbook of Labor Unions*. American Council on Public Affairs, Washington, D.C., 1943.

SAPOSS, DAVID J., *Readings in Trade Unionism*. George H. Doran Co., New York, 1926.

SLIGHTER, SUMNER H., *Union Policies and Industrial Management*. Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C., 1941.

WALSH, J. RAYMOND, *CIO Industrial Unionism in Action*. W. W. Norton, New York, 1937.

WOLMAN, LEO, *Ebb and Flow in Trade Unionism*. National Bureau of Economic Research, New York, 1936.

DIRECTORY OF INTERNATIONAL UNIONS WITH 1944 MEMBERSHIP

The following is a directory of 187 labor organizations (including 6 councils and committees which have semi-autonomy) whose coverage is sufficiently extensive to be called International or National unions. No organization is included whose membership is confined to a particular company or area. Unions unaffiliated with either the American Federation of Labor or the Congress of Industrial Organizations are indicated as Independent (Ind.) except for several belonging to the recently established Confederated Unions of America, which are identified as CUA.

Membership figures are from 1944 AFL, CIO and individual union convention proceedings, and other official reports and correspondence.

<i>Name and Affiliation</i>	<i>1944 Membership</i>
Actors & Artistes of America, The Associated (AFL) 45 West 47th Street, New York, N.Y.	18,000
Air Line Communication Employees Ass'n (Ind.) 144-32 35th Avenue, Flushing, N.Y.	400
Air Line Dispatchers Ass'n (AFL) 1452 Oneida, Denver, Colo.	200
Air Line Mechanics Ass'n, Int'l (Ind.) 155 N. Clark Street, Chicago, Ill.	4,500
Air Line Pilots Ass'n, Int'l (AFL) 3145 West 63rd Street, Chicago, Ill.	3,300
Aluminum Workers Unions, Int'l Council of (AFL) 605 Columbia Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.	
Architects & Draftsmen's Unions, Int'l Federation of Technical Engineers (AFL) 901 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C.	7,100
Architects, Engineers, Chemists & Technicians, Int'l Federation of (CIO) 5 Beekman Street, New York, N.Y.	8,000

* Unknown

<i>Name and Affiliation</i>	<i>1944 Membership</i>
Asbestos Workers, Int'l Ass'n of Heat & Frost Insulators and (AFL)	4,000
Ninth & Mt. Vernon Place, N.W., Washington, D.C.	
Associated Unions of America (CUA)	13,300
161 W. Wisconsin Avenue, Milwaukee, Wis.	
Automobile, Aircraft & Agricultural Implement Workers of America, United (CIO)	1,052,000
411 W. Milwaukee, Detroit, Mich.	
Automobile Workers of America, United (AFL)	50,700
231 W. Wisconsin Avenue, Milwaukee, Wis.	
Bakery & Confectionery Workers' Int'l Union of America (AFL)	90,000
2719 No. Wilton Avenue, Chicago, Ill.	
Barbers & Beauty Culturists Union of America (CIO)	5,000
316 Flatbush Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y.	
Barbers, Hairdressers & Cosmetologists' Int'l Union of America, The Journeymen (AFL)	50,000
12th & Delaware Streets, Indianapolis, Ind.	
Bill Posters, Billers & Distributors, Int'l Alliance of (AFL) ..	3,000
303 Bessemer Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.	
Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers & Helpers, Int'l Bro. of (AFL) ..	10,000
2922 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.	
Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders & Helpers of America, Int'l Bro. of (AFL)	400,000
Brotherhood Block, Kansas City, Kans.	
Bookbinders, Int'l Bro. of (AFL)	28,900
901 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C.	
Brewery, Flour, Cereal & Soft Drink Workers of America, Int'l Union of United (Ind.)	85,000
2345-51 Vine Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.	
Brick & Clay Workers of America, The United (AFL)	10,000
1550 W. 95th Street, Chicago, Ill.	
Bricklayers, Masons & Plasterers Int'l Union of America (AFL)	65,000
815-15th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.	
Bridge & Structural Iron Workers, Int'l Ass'n of (AFL)	116,000
1615-20 Syndicate Trust Building, St. Louis, Mo.	
Broadcast Engineers & Technicians, National Ass'n of (Ind.)	750
930 F Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.	
Broom & Whisk Makers Union, Int'l (AFL)	450
4457 N. Spaulding Ave., Chicago, Ill.	

<i>Name and Affiliation</i>	<i>1944 Membership</i>
Building Service Employees' Int'l Union (AFL) 130 North Wells Street, Chicago, Ill.	70,000
Carpenters & Joiners of America, United Bro. of (AFL) Carpenters Building, Indianapolis, Ind.	600,000
Cement, Lime & Gypsum Workers Int'l Union, United (AFL) 549 W. Randolph Street, Chicago, Ill.	23,000
Chemical Workers Union, Int'l (AFL) 2701 First Central Tower Building, Akron, Ohio.	50,000
Cigarmakers' Int'l Union of America (AFL) 1003 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.	12,500
Cleaning & Dye House Workers, Int'l Ass'n of (AFL) 1740 East 12th Street, Cleveland, Ohio.	18,000
Clothing Workers of America, Amalgamated (CIO) 15 Union Square, New York, N.Y.	325,000
Communications Ass'n, American (CIO) 5 Beekman Street, New York, N.Y.	23,500
Confederated Unions of America (Ind.) 809 Eye Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.	
Coopers' Int'l Union of North America (AFL) Park Square Building, Boston, Mass.	5,000
Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America (AFL) 132 Joralemon Street, Brooklyn, N.Y.	600
Die Sinkers Conference, Int'l (Ind.) 5713 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.	4,000
Distillery, Rectifying & Wine Workers' Int'l Union of America (AFL) 1417 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.	10,000
Dyers, Finishers, Printers & Bleachers of America, Federation of (CIO) 18 Church Street, Paterson, N.J.	28,000
Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America, United (CIO) 11 E. 51st Street, New York, N.Y.	430,000
Electrical Workers of America, Int'l Bro. of (AFL) 1200-15th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.	313,000
Elevator Constructors, Int'l Union of (AFL) 12 So. 12th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.	10,200

* Unknown

1944

<i>Name and Affiliation</i>	<i>Membership</i>
Engineers, Int'l Union of Operating (AFL)	100,000
1003 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.	
Engravers & Sketchmakers, Inc., Friendly Society of (Ind.) ..	800
555 Washington Avenue, Nutley, N.J.	
Farm Equipment & Metal Workers of America, United (CIO)	75,000
188 W. Randolph Street, Chicago, Ill.	
Federal Employees, Nat'l Federation of (Ind.)	75,000
10 Independence Avenue, S.W., Washington, D.C.	
Federal Workers of America, United (CIO)	30,000
903 F. Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.	
Fire Fighters, Int'l Ass'n of (AFL)	40,500
901 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C.	
Firemen & Oilers, Int'l Bro. of (AFL)	52,700
330 South Wells Street, Chicago, Ill.	
Fishermen & Allied Workers of America, Int'l (CIO)	22,000
4124 Arcade Building, Seattle, Wash.	
¹ Food, Tobacco, Agricultural and Allied Workers Union of America (CIO)	68,000
1505 Race Street, Philadelphia, Pa.	
Foreman's Ass'n of America (Ind.)	32,000
515 Barlum Tower, Detroit, Mich.	
Fur Division, Int'l Fur & Leather Workers' Union (CIO) ...	40,000
251 Fourth Avenue, New York, N.Y.	
Furniture Workers of America, United (CIO)	45,000
261 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.	
Garment Workers of America, United (AFL)	40,000
45 Astor Place, New York, N.Y.	
Garment Workers' Union, Int'l Ladies' (AFL)	300,500
1710 Broadway, New York, N.Y.	
Gas, Coke & Chemical Workers of America, United (CIO) ..	41,300
718 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington, D.C.	
Glass Bottle Blowers Ass'n of the U.S. & Canada (AFL)	24,000
12 So. 12th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.	
Glass, Ceramic & Silica Sand Workers of America, Federation of (CIO)	38,000
118 North 3rd Street, Columbus, Ohio.	

¹ Formerly the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America (CIO).

<i>Name and Affiliation</i>	1944 <i>Membership</i>
Glass Cutters' League of America, Window (AFL) 9 East Long Street, Columbus, Ohio.	1,600
Glass Workers Union of North America, American Flint (AFL) Huron Street & Jefferson Avenue, Toledo, Ohio.	27,000
Glove Workers Union of America, Int'l (AFL) P. O. Box 352, Kewanee, Ill.	3,100
Government Employees, American Federation of (AFL) 900 F Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.	27,000
Grain Processors Council, American Federation of (AFL) ... 7033 Tulane Avenue, St. Louis, Mo.	*
Granite Cutters' Int'l Ass'n of America, The (AFL) 25 School Street, Quincy, Mass.	4,300
Hatters, Cap & Millinery Workers' Int'l Union, United (AFL) 245 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.	40,000
Hod Carriers', Building & Common Laborers' Union of Amer- ica, Int'l (AFL) 821 15th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.	400,000
Horse Shoers of the U.S. & Canada, Int'l Union of Journeymen (AFL) 20 N. Tremont Road, Baltimore, Md.	200
Hosiery Workers, American Federation of (CIO) 2319 N. Broad Street, Philadelphia, Pa.	30,000
Hotel & Restaurant Employees' Int'l Alliance & Bartenders' Int'l League of America (AFL) 530 Walnut Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.	267,000
Industrial Trades Union of America (Ind.) 53 Federal Street, Woonsocket, R.I.	15,000
Inlandboatmen's Union of the Pacific (CIO) 117 Canadian National Dock, Seattle, Wash.	3,200
Jewelry Workers' Union, Int'l (AFL) 551 5th Avenue, New York, N.Y.	7,000
Lace Operatives of America, Amalgamated (Ind.) 545 W. Lehigh Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.	2,300
Lathers, Int'l Union of Wood, Wire & Metal (AFL) 2605 Detroit Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.	8,100

* Unknown

<i>Name and Affiliation</i>	<i>1944 Membership</i>
Laundry Workers' Int'l Union (AFL)	50,000
115 N. Pennsylvania Street, Indianapolis, Ind.	
Leather Workers' Int'l Union, United (AFL)	2,800
5th & Chestnut Streets, Philadelphia, Pa.	
Leather Division, Int'l Fur & Leather Workers' Union (CIO)	50,000
6 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.	
Letter Carriers, Nat'l Ass'n of (AFL)	60,000
901 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C.	
Letter Carriers, Nat'l Federation of Rural (AFL)	400
824 S. 11th St., Lafayette, Ind.	
Letter Carriers' Ass'n, Nat'l Rural (Ind.)	30,200
1329 E. Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.	
Licensed Officers of the U. S. A., United (Ind.)	1,000
15 Whitehall Street, New York, N.Y.	
Lithographers of America, Amalgamated (AFL)	13,700
450 7th Avenue, New York, N.Y.	
Locomotive Engineers, Bro. of (Ind.)	75,800
1118 Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers Bldg., Cleve- land, Ohio.	
Locomotive Firemen & Enginemen, Bro. of (Ind.)	120,200
318 Keith Building, Cleveland, Ohio.	
Longshoremen's Ass'n, Int'l (AFL)	61,000
265 West 14th Street, New York, N.Y.	
Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, Int'l (CIO) ...	50,000
604 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, Calif.	
Luggage, Belt & Novelty Workers' Union, Int'l Ladies Hand- bag (AFL)	20,000
265 West 14th Street, New York, N.Y.	
Machine Printers Beneficial Ass'n (Ind.)	1,400
28 Harwood Street, Cranston, R.I.	
Machinists, Int'l Ass'n of (AFL)	665,900
Ninth Street & Mt. Vernon Place, N.W., Washington, D.C.	
Maintenance of Way Employees, Bro. of (AFL)	127,000
61 Putnam Avenue, Detroit, Mich.	
Marble, Slate & Stone Polishers, Rubbers & Sawyers, Tile & Marble Setters Helpers & Terrazzo Helpers, Int'l Ass'n of (AFL)	4,500
815 15th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.	
Marine Cooks & Stewards Ass'n of the Pacific Coast (CIO) ..	8,000
86 Commercial Street, San Francisco, Calif.	

<i>Name and Affiliation</i>	<i>1944 Membership</i>
Marine Engineers' Beneficial Ass'n, Nat'l (CIO)	11,000
313 Machinists Building, Washington, D.C.	
Marine Firemen, Oilers, Watertenders & Wipers of the Pacific Coast (Ind.)	15,000
58 Commercial Street, San Francisco, Calif.	
Marine & Shipbuilding Workers of America, Industrial Union of (CIO)	250,000
534 Cooper Street, Camden, N.J.	
Maritime Union of America, Nat'l (CIO)	90,000
346 W. 17th Street, New York, N.Y.	
Masters, Mates & Pilots of America (AFL)	3,000
15 Moore Street, New York, N.Y.	
Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen of North America, Amal- gamated (AFL)	111,000
160 North LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.	
Mechanics Educational Society of America (CUA)	54,000
317 Boulevard Building, Detroit, Mich.	
Mechanics & Foremen of Navy Yards & Naval Stations, Nat'l Ass'n of Master (AFL)	300
3128 Patterson Pl., N.W., Washington, D.C.	
Messengers, The Nat'l Ass'n of Special Delivery (AFL)	900
301 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C.	
Metal & Enamelware Workers, Int'l Council of Fabricated (AFL)	14,000
732 Central National Bank Building, Richmond, Va.	
Metal Engravers Union, Int'l (Ind.)	900
1133 Broadway, New York City.	
Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers & Helpers Int'l Union (AFL)	30,000
48 Blymyer Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.	
Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers, Int'l Union of (CIO)	100,000
222 W. Adams St., Chicago, Ill.	
Mine Workers of America, Progressive (AFL)	35,000
506 So. Sixth Street, Springfield, Ill.	
Mine Workers of America, United (Ind.)	600,000
15th & I Streets, N.W., Washington, D.C.	
Molders & Foundry Workers Union of North America, Int'l (AFL)	67,000
530 Walnut Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.	
Musicians, American Federation of (AFL)	100,000
39 Division Street, Newark, N.J.	

<i>Name and Affiliation</i>	1944
<i>Membership</i>	
Newspaper Guild, American (CIO) 63 Park Row, New York, N.Y.	22,000
Office Employees Int'l Union (AFL) 1221 G St., N.W., Washington, D.C.	30,000
Office & Professional Workers of America, United (CIO) 1860 Broadway, New York, N.Y.	51,000
Oil Workers Int'l Union (CIO) 108 West 8th Street, Fort Worth, Tex.	100,000
Optical & Instrument Workers Organizing Committee (CIO) Title Guaranty Building, St. Louis, Mo.	*
Packinghouse Workers of America, United (CIO) 205 W. Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill.	95,000
Painters, Decorators & Paperhangers of America, Bro. of (AFL) 217-19 North Sixth Street, Lafayette, Ind.	140,000
Paper Makers, Int'l Bro. of (AFL) 30 Sheridan Avenue, Albany, N.Y.	40,000
Paper Workers Organizing Committee (CIO) 33 Public Square, Cleveland, Ohio.	22,700
Pattern Makers' League of North America (AFL) 9th & Mt. Vernon Place, N.W., Washington, D.C.	11,000
Paving Cutters' Union of United States of America & Canada (Ind.) Box 30, Rockport, Mass.	1,800
Photo-Engravers' Union of North America, Int'l (AFL) 3138 So. Grand Blvd., St. Louis, Mo.	10,900
Plasterers' & Cement Finishers Int'l Ass'n of the U.S. & Canada, Operative (AFL) 200 Fidelity Building, Cleveland, Ohio.	25,000
Plate Printers, Die Stampers & Engravers' Union of North America, Int'l (AFL) 24 Metropolitan Oval, New York, N.Y.	1,100
Playthings, Jewelry & Novelty Workers Int'l Union (CIO) .. 225 Lafayette Street, New York, N.Y.	27,000
Plumbers & Steam Fitters of the U.S. & Canada, United Ass'n of (AFL) 9th & Mt. Vernon Place, N.W., Washington, D.C.	130,000
Post Office Clerks, Nat'l Federation of (AFL) 14th & New York Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C.	40,000
Unknown	

<i>Name and Affiliation</i>	<i>1944 Membership</i>
Post Office Clerks, United Nat'l Ass'n of (Ind.)	35,000
524 Colorado Building, Washington, D.C.	
Post Office & Railway Mail Handlers, Nat'l Ass'n of (AFL)	1,500
160-10 119th Road, Jamaica, N.Y.	
Postal Employees, Nat'l Alliance of (Ind.)	11,000
1944 9th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.	
Postal Supervisors, The Nat'l Ass'n of (Ind.)	10,000
P. O. Box 507, Louisville, Ky.	
Postmasters of the U.S., Nat'l League of District (Ind.)	22,000
1110 F Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.	
Potters, Nat'l Bro. of Operative (AFL)	21,500
Box 6, East Liverpool, Ohio.	
Printing Pressmen's & Assistants' Union of North America, Int'l (AFL)	65,000
Pressmen's Home, Tenn.	
Pulp, Sulphite & Paper Mill Workers of the U.S. & Canada, Int'l Bro. of (AFL)	75,000
P. O. Drawer 30, Fort Edward, N.Y.	
Railroad Signalmen, Bro. of (Ind.)	13,000
4849 North Western Avenue, Chicago, Ill.	
Railroad Telegraphers, Order of (AFL)	55,000
3673 W. Pine Blvd., St. Louis, Mo.	
Railroad Trainmen, Bro. of (Ind.)	196,000
820 Superior Avenue, W., Cleveland, Ohio.	
Railroad Yardmasters of America (Ind.)	3,500
417 So. Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.	
Railway Carmen of America, Bro. of (AFL)	95,800
107 W. Linwood Blvd., Kansas City, Mo.	
Railway Conductors of America, Order of (Ind.)	42,000
Cedar Rapids, Iowa.	
Railway Mail Ass'n (AFL)	21,800
901 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C.	
Railway Patrolmen's Unions, National Council (AFL)	*
701 Bromo Seltzer Building, Baltimore, Md.	
Railway & Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express & Station Employes, Bro. of (AFL)	286,000
Court & Vine Streets, Cincinnati, Ohio.	
Railway Supervisors Ass'n, Inc., The American (Ind.)	3,000
53 W. Jackson Blvd., Chicago, Ill.	

* Unknown

<i>Name and Affiliation</i>	<i>1944 Membership</i>
Retail Clerks Int'l Protective Ass'n (AFL)	100,000
Lock Drawer #248, Lafayette, Ind.	
Retail, Wholesale & Department Store Employees of America, United (CIO)	120,000
100 West 42nd Street, New York, N.Y.	
Roofers, Damp & Waterproof Workers' Ass'n, United Slate, Tile & Composition (AFL)	8,000
1703 Terminal Tower, Cleveland, Ohio.	
Rubber Workers' of America, United (CIO)	150,000
The Buckeye Building, Mill & High Streets, Akron, Ohio.	
Seafarers' Int'l Union of North America (AFL)	35,000
105 Market Street, San Francisco, Calif.	
Sheet Metal Workers' Int'l Ass'n (AFL)	25,000
17th & H Streets, N.W., Washington, D.C.	
Shoe & Allied Craftsmen, Bro. of (Ind.)	11,000
50 Main Street, Brockton, Mass.	
Shoe Workers Union, Boot & (AFL)	40,000
246 Summer Street, Boston, Mass.	
Shoe Workers of America, United (CIO)	60,000
917 15th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.	
Siderographers, Int'l Ass'n of (AFL)	48
3528 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C.	
Sleeping Car Porters, Bro. of (AFL)	12,900
217 West 125th Street, New York, N.Y.	
Spinners Union, Int'l (AFL)	500
53 Howard Street, Holyoke, Mass.	
Stage Employees & Moving Picture Machine Operators of the U.S. and Canada, Int'l Alliance of Theatrical (AFL) ..	50,000
630 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.	
State, County & Municipal Employees, American Federation of (AFL)	50,000
448 W. Washington Avenue, Madison, Wis.	
State, County & Municipal Workers of America (CIO)	45,000
51 Chambers Street, New York, N.Y.	
Steelworkers of America, United (CIO)	798,000
1500 Commonwealth Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.	
Stereotypers' & Electrotypers' Union of North America, Int'l (AFL)	9,200
752 Old South Building, Boston, Mass.	

<i>Name and Affiliation</i>	<i>1944 Membership</i>
Stone & Allied Products Workers of America, United (CIO) Scampini Building, Barre, Vt.	5,700
Stonecutters' Ass'n of North America, Journeymen (AFL) .. 8 East Market Street, Indianapolis, Ind.	1,900
Stove Mounters' Int'l Union of North America (AFL) 2806 N. Grand Avenue, St. Louis, Mo.	8,000
Street, Electric Railway & Motor Coach Employees of America, Amalgamated Ass'n of (AFL) 1214 Griswold Street, Detroit, Mich.	125,000
Switchmen's Union of North America (AFL) 3 Linwood Avenue, Buffalo, N.Y.	9,300
Teachers, American Federation of (AFL) 506 S. Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Ill.	30,000
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen & Helpers of America, Int'l Bro. of (AFL) 222 E. Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Ind.	629,200
Telegraphers Union of North America, Commercial (AFL) .. 5913 Georgia Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C.	20,000
Telephone Workers, Nat'l Federation of (Ind.) 306 N. Charles Street, Baltimore, Md.	132,000
Textile Workers of America, United (AFL) 402 6th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.	40,000
Textile Workers Union of America (CIO), including Hosiery & Dyers 15 Union Square, New York, N.Y.	342,000
Tobacco Workers' Int'l Union (AFL) 806-09 Realty Building, Louisville, Ky.	24,200
Tool & Die Craftsmen of America, The Society of (Ind.) ... 4709 Woodward Avenue, Detroit, Mich.	5,000
Train Dispatchers, American Ass'n of (Ind.) 10 Huron Street, East, Chicago, Ill.	3,800
Transport Service Employees of America, United (CIO) 3451 S. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.	12,650
Transport Workers Union of America (CIO) 153 West 64th Street, New York, N.Y.	95,000
Typographical Union, Int'l (AFL) 2829 North Meridian, Indianapolis, Ind.	82,000
Upholsterers' Int'l Union of North America (AFL) 2812 N. Broad Street, Philadelphia, Pa.	50,000

<i>Name and Affiliation</i>	<i>Membership</i>
Utilities Union of America, United (Ind.) 232 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.	110,000
Utility Workers Organizing Committee (CIO) 1133 Broadway, New York, N.Y.	*
Wall Paper Craftsmen & Workers of North America, United (AFL) 426 N. Beaver Street, York, Pa.	2,800
Welders of America, United Aircraft (Ind.) 215 West Fifth Street, Los Angeles, Calif.	3,000
Wire Weavers' Protective Ass'n, American (AFL) 103 Overlook Avenue, Belleville, N.J.	400
Wood Carvers Ass'n of North America, Int'l (Ind.) 14 Pearson Avenue, Somerville, Mass.	250
Woodworkers of America, Int'l (CIO) 314 S. W. 9th Street, Portland, Ore.	65,000
* Unknown	

Index

Attention is called to the fact that there are additional titles in the Glossary of Labor Terms (p. 248-75) which are not listed in the following Index. Also, the Index includes only those names of individual unions which are mentioned in the text. For particular information about each of the various unions, see Initiation and Dues Table (p. 128-46), Union Journals and Pamphlets (p. 151-9), Unions in Each Industry (p. 276-85), Directory and Membership of Unions (p. 319-30).

- A and B members, 73, 110, 184; *see also* Beneficial members
- Accidents, *see* Benefit programs, Workmen's compensation
- Actors and Artistes, 61, 120 *ftn.*, 189; *see also* Professional Workers
- Actors' Equity Ass'n., 15, 61 *ftn.*
- Adamson Act, 10, 248
- Agriculture, 4, 25, 30, 74, 190
- Agricultural implements, 37, 95, 189, 218
- Aircraft, 31, 34, 37, 189, 190, 222, 276; *see also* Automobile
- Airline, 189, 284
- Air Line Pilots, 110, 189
- Allied Labor News Service, 148
- Allied Printing Trades, 73, 82
- Aluminum, 25, 31, 60, 189, 190
- Amalgamated Life Insurance Co., 182
- Amalgamated locals, 77
- American Anti-Boycott Ass'n., 8
- American Arbitration Ass'n., 237
- American Bankers Ass'n., 16
- American Labor Education Service, 168
- American Labor Party, 35
- "American plan," *see* Open-shop
- American Railway Supervisors Ass'n., 53
- Anthracite, *see* Mine workers
- Anti-Injunction Law, 22, 241, 248; *see also* State legislation
- Antistrike legislation, *see* War Labor Disputes Act, State legislation
- Anti-union, 7-9, 36 *ftn.*, 249; *see also* Open shop, National Labor Relations Act, Public relations
- Apex Hosiery Co., 224 *ftn.*
- Apprentices: Dues, 126; Rules, 1, 32, 89, 97-8, 112, 124, 198, 209; Training, 47, 72, 110, 161-3, 249
- Arbitration, 249; Awards, 17, 180; Government, 240-7, 253; Presentation, 65, 68, 114, 201; Provisions in agreements, 32, 198, 232, 235-8; Railroads, 48, 244; War Labor Board, 106
- Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians, 72
- Assessments, 43, 46-7, 64, 66, 103, 112, 119, 122-3, 250; *see also* Strike benefits
- Auditors, *see* Financial reports
- Automobile, 25, 28, 30, 31, 34, 37, 189, 190, 216, 276
- Automobile, Aircraft & Agricultural Implement Workers, 60, 64, 68, 70, 72, 74, 82, 98, 165-6, 218
- Automobile Labor Board, 216
- Auxiliary locals, 88, 89, 110
- Bakery & Confectionery Workers, 72, 189-90, 196
- Baltimore & Ohio Plan, 20
- Banks, *see* Labor banks
- "Beneficial" members, 100, 110, 120, 128-46, 183; *see also* Apprentices
- Benefit programs: Employer, 19, 20, 180; Government, 179, 182; Under collective agreements, 180, 209; Union, 64, 65, 73, 91, 94 *ftn.*, 100, 108, 110, 113-4, 120, 121, 126-46, 176, 179, 182-6
- Bill Posters, 99 *ftn.*
- Blacklists, 4, 16, 251
- Blacksmiths, 2, 89, 225
- Boilermakers & Iron Ship Builders, 74, 75, 89
- Bookbinders, 82, 120 *ftn.*
- Bottle Blowers, 75, 194
- Boycotts, 1, 9, 251
- Brewery, 7, 72, 189, 196

- Bricklayers, Masons & Plasterers, 3, 72, 75, 90, 184, 225
 Bridge & Structural Iron Workers, 10, 184
 Brookwood Labor College, 167
 Bryn Mawr Summer School, 168
 Building & Construction Trades Department, 32, 44, 45-6, 74, 82, 226
 Building trades, 6, 7, 13, 17, 18, 22, 32, 34, 37, 60, 77, 80, 82-3; Apprentices, 161; Bargaining, 189, 190, 195, 196-7, 205; Disputes, 226, 233; Foremen, 92; Membership rules, 85, 88; Names of unions, 46, 276
 Building Trades Stabilization Agreement, 45
 Bumping, 91, 251
 Bus, *see* Street railway
 Business agents, 79, 109, 116, 199, 227, 234, 235, 251
 Business depression: During 19th century, 2, 3, 6; (World War I) 10, 18, 215; (1929-1932) 22, 25, 178, 215, 216, 223; (1938) 30, 218
 California Labor School, 165
 Canadian unions, 2, 4, 6, 34 *ftn.*, 59
 Cannery, Agricultural, Packing & Allied Workers,* 166
 Canning, 30, 189-190, 217
 "Captive" mines, 218, 252
 Carnegie Steel Co., 8
 Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corp., 194
 Carpenters, 1-4, 61, 68, 70 *ftn.*, 74, 89, 183 *ftn.*, 184, 225; *see also* Building trades
 Catholic colleges, 170 *ftn.*
 Catholic Trade Unionists, 147 *ftn.*, 165 *ftn.*
 Cement, 25, 75, 90, 189
 Chamberlain, Neil W., 202
 Chamber of Commerce, 15 *ftn.*, 16, 17, 171
 Charter, 42, 43, 64, 66, 77, 78, 82, 227 *ftn.*
 Charter fee, 119, 121
 Check-off, 80, 102, 119, 205-6, 252
 Chemicals, 37, 190, 277
 Chevrolet, 216
 Child labor, 4, 23, 160, 207 *ftn.*
 Chrysler Corp., 94, 218
 Churches, 172
 Cigar Makers, 3, 4, 6
 Citizens' alliances, 8
 Citizens Industrial Association, 9 *ftn.*
 City centrals, 43-4, 54-5, 78, 119, 148-151, 178, 252
 City federations, 2, 3
 Clay, 190, 283
 Clayton Act, 9
 Clearance card, 107, 108
 Clerical, *see* Professional Workers
 Closed shop, 1, 12, 90, 92, 99, 100, 102-3, 108, 161, 205, 216, 252, 253; *see also* Union shop
 Closed vs. open union, 252, 263; *see also* Initiation fees, Membership restrictions
 Clothing, 7, 10, 17, 22, 23, 34, 37, 70, 72, 74, 82; Bargaining, 190, 193, 195, 196, 213, 236, 277; *see also* Garment Workers
 Clothing Workers, Amalgamated, 7, 20, 24, 165, 215; Benefit programs, 180-2; Co-operative activities, 176-8
 Coal, *see* Mine workers
 Collective agreements, 187-209, 249, 250, 252-3, 259, 261, 269; Dispute adjustment, 231-7
 Colorado Fuel & Iron Co., 10 *ftn.*
 Commission on Industrial Relations, 9, 10
 Commonwealth College, 167
 Communications, *see* Telegraph and telephone, Radio
 Communist, 21, 35, 86, 223; *see also* Left-wing movement
 Company unions, 12, 25-7, 53, 216, 253; *see also* Employee representation plans
 Conciliation, 201, 231-47, 254, 261
 Connally-Smith Act, *see* War Labor Disputes Act
 Construction, *see* Building trades
 Conventions: AFL, 28, 37, 42-50, 121 *ftn.*; CIO, 29, 51, 121 *ftn.*; Internationals, 62-4, 78-9
 Co-operation, *see* Union-management co-operation
 Co-operatives, 2, 4, 147 *ftn.*, 176-179
 Cornell Univ., 169
 Cost of living: (19th century), 2; (World War I), 12, 14, 213; (1920's), 19, 214; (World War II), 219, 238 *ftn.*; Collective bargaining, 202-3
 Councils: District, 47, 54, 81, 227; Industrial, 51, 52, 54, 55, 56, 78, 252; Local, 46, 47, 74, 76, 81; National, 44, 58; Publications, 149-51; State, 46, 83; *see also* City centrals, Joint boards, Organizing committee
 Council of National Defense, 11, 31
 Craft unions, 1, 3, 6, 7; Apprentices, 97, 161; Bargaining unit, 27, 77, 192.

* Name recently changed to Food, Tobacco, Agricultural & Allied Workers.

- 194; Foremen, 92-4; Initiation fees, 123, 126; Jurisdiction, 48, 52, 82-3, 225-6; Membership, 18, 60, 85, 107, 110; Strike benefits, 230; Versus industrial, 28, 37, 50, 71-5, 262
- Dairy workers, 74, 190
- Danbury Hatters, 9
- Death Fund, *see* Benefit programs
- "Defense" fund, *see* Assessments, Strike benefits
- Department of Justice, 14
- Diamond Workers, 72
- Die Casters, 62
- Disability, *see* Benefit programs, Workmen's compensation
- Discipline, *see* Expulsion, Suspension, Fines
- Discrimination, 4, 8, 12, 16, 212, 221, 255; *see also* National Labor Relations Act, Railway Labor Act, Union discrimination
- District 50 (United Mine Workers), 37, 62, 96 *ft.*, 221
- Domestic servants, 95, 191
- Dual unionism, 28, 36-7, 42-3, 57, 60, 71, 104-5, 108, 217-8, 225, 266
- Dues: Amount, 58, 109-10, 119-20, 128-46; Collection, 205-6; Delinquency, 102-3; For education, 166; For publications, 150, 153; Unemployed members, 111; *see also* Per capita taxes, Assessments, Permit cards, Check-off
- Dyers & Finishers, 57 *ft.*, 61, 93, 195
- Depressions, *see* Business depression
- Educational activities, 4, 55; Against discrimination, 87; Directors, 114, 116, 166; Use of label, 50; Women's auxiliaries, 110; Workers' education, 151, 160, 163-8, 170
- Election procedures: AFL, 43-50; CIO, 51-2; Internationals, 63-70; Locals, 78
- Electrical, 25, 30, 31, 37, 189
- Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers, 72, 165, 180
- Electrical Workers Bro., 74, 89, 105 *ft.*, 120 *ft.*, 162, 184
- Elevator Constructors, 195
- Employee representation plans, 12, 15, 20; *see also* Company unions
- Employer associations, 8, 9, 16, 23, 26, 74, 171, 191, 193-202, 235-8
- Employer-union co-operation, *see* Union-management co-operation
- Enforcement of agreements, 196, 234-5, 237-8; *see also* Arbitration
- Expulsion, 42, 57, 64, 77, 79, 81, 100, 102-7
- Fair Labor Standards Act, 31, 207 *ft.*, 256, 262, 271
- Fansteel Metallurgical Corp., 224 *ft.*
- Farmer-Labor Party, 35
- Farming, 4, 25, 30, 74, 190
- Farm machinery, *see* Agricultural implements
- Federal, *see* Government
- Federal Committee on Apprenticeship, 98, 162, 256
- Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, 172 *ft.*
- Federal labor unions, 25, 42, 44, 76, 87, 256
- Federal social security, 53 *ft.*, 179, 180, 182, 183, 268
- Federal troops, 4, 8; *see also* Violence
- Federated Press, 148
- Fees, *see* Initiation, Reinstatement, Permit cards
- Financial records of company, 202
- Financial reports, 58, 64-5, 80-1, 109, 117-8, 172
- Fines, 81, 90, 98, 101, 104 *ft.*, 105, 106, 118, 119
- Food, 189-90, 278; *see also* Agriculture, Cannery
- Ford Motor Co., 96
- Foremen: Grievance negotiations, 232, 235; Membership in unions, 53, 90-97, 108, 190, 221
- Foreman's Association, 94, 96, 97
- Fortune poll, 169 *ft.*
- "Free" trade unions, 38
- Fur, 189, 196
- Fur & Leather Workers, 180
- Furniture, 74, 180, 189
- Garment Workers, Ladies', 21, 24, 29, 35; Benefit programs, 180, 181-2; Education, 164, 165, 167; *see also* Clothing
- Gastonia strike, 21
- General Motors Corp., 218
- Glass, 34, 62, 75, 189, 216, 283; Bottles, 75, 194; Ceramic, 195; Flat, 75, 166; Flint, 75, 194; Glaziers, 225; Window, 72, 75
- Gloves, 189
- Gompers, Samuel, 6, 11, 15, 35, 163 *ft.*
- Government workers, 3, 30, 34 *ft.*, 41, 58, 188, 211 *ft.*, 279; *see also* Professional workers, Teachers
- Harvard Univ., 167
- Hat and Millinery, 2, 9, 189, 196
- Hatters, Cap & Millinery Workers, 67
- Health, 208-9; *see also* Benefit programs

- Highlander Folk School, 168
 Hiring halls, 101, 216-7, 258, 259
 Hod Carriers, 63, 90
 Holiday provisions, 207
 Homes for aged, 64, 183-4, 186
 Homestead strike, 8
 Honorary members, 94, 100 fnt., 108, 110
 Horse Shoers, 72
 Hosiery Workers, 57 fnt., 61, 82, 120 fnt., 165, 189, 195
 Hotel & Restaurant Employees, 52, 75, 88, 180, 190
 Hours: Government work, 3; Overtime, 219, 263; Provisions in agreements, 206-7; Strikes over, 1, 6, 10, 212, 213, 215, 217
 Housing, 176
 Hudson Motor Car Co., 218
 Hudson Shore Labor School, 168

 Immigrants, 2, 8 fnt., 12, 16, 84, 85
 Impartial chairman, 196, 236, 258; *see also* Arbitration
 Independent union, 57, 61, 258
 Industrial unionism, 28, 37, 50, 70-5, 94, 97, 258; *see also* Craft unions
 Industrial Workers of the World, 13, 14, 223
 Initiation fees: Amounts of, 110, 126-146; Division of, 44, 45, 47, 49, 126; Membership control, 123-4; Rules, 58, 101-3, 108, 119, 125; Veterans, 111; *see also* Reinstatement
 Injunctions, 8 fnt., 22, 35, 213, 214, 224 fnt., 258; *see also* Anti-Injunction Law
 Insurance, *see* Benefit programs
 International Labor News Service, 148
 Interstate Commerce Commission, 48, 206 fnt.
 Iron, Steel & Tin Workers, Amalgamated, 8, 16
 Iron Workers, 4, 10, 184, 225; *see also* Steel Workers

 Jewelry, 180, 189
 Joint boards, 54, 59, 73-4, 81-3, 117, 119, 198, 227; *see also* Councils, City centrals
 Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp., 218
 Journals, *see* Publications
 Journeymen, 1, 3, 110, 162; *see also* Apprentices, Beneficial members
 Jurisdiction, 57, 60, 71-5, 77, 81, 84, 108, 226, 272
 Jurisdictional disputes, 42, 45, 48, 51, 54, 57, 71, 81, 225-6, 238, 240, 259

 Kaltenborn, Howard S., 241 fnt.
 Kansas Court of Industrial Relations, 242
 Knights of Labor, 4, 176, 177
 Knights of St. Crispin, 3, 4

 Labels, 73, 82, 197-8, 209, 259
 Label Trades Department, 44, 49, 50
 Labor banks, 177-8
 Labor Department, 9, 11, 23, 28, 32, 98 fnt., 162 fnt., 191 fnt., 203; *see also* U. S. Conciliation Service
 Labor League for Human Rights, 172
 Labor Press Associates, 148
 Labor relations acts, *see* National Labor Relations Act, State labor relations acts
 Labor relations director, 200, 235; *see also* National Labor Relations Board
 Labor turnover, 192, 260
 Labor's Confidential Analyst, 148
 Lawyers, 199, 200, 223-4; *see also* Research
 Leather, 189, 279
 Legislation, 4, 113, 148-51, 174, 179, 180, 187, 231; *see also* State legislation
 Left-wing movement, 13, 21, 70, 164, 167, 223
 Lescohier, D. D., 222 fnt.
 Lever Act, 213
 Licensed Officers, 93
 Light & power, 190
 Life insurance, *see* Benefit programs
 Lithographers, 225
 "Little Steel" companies, 218
 "Little Steel" wage formula, 219, 260
 Local industrial unions, 52, 76, 260
 Lockouts, 4, 255, 260
 Locomotive Engineers, 3, 54, 72, 87, 177
 Locomotive Firemen, 54, 75, 87
 Longshoremen, 14, 25, 85, 189, 190, 216, 217
 Longshoremen & Warehousemen, 105 fnt.
 Longshoremen's Association, 54, 69, 115
 Los Angeles Times, 10
 Loyal Legion of Loggers & Lumbermen, 14, 216
 Ludlow massacre, 10
 Lumber, 13, 25, 74, 189, 196, 212, 216-217, 279

 Machinists, 2, 7, 14, 20, 34, 189, 212, 280; *see also* Electrical
 Machinists Association, 61, 68, 74, 89, 177, 186, 225
 Maintenance of membership, 102, 106, 205, 255, 261

- Maintenance of Way Brotherhood, 88
 Marine & Shipbuilding, 31, 72, 165, 180
 Marine Engineers, 55, 72, 93
 Marine Firemen, 72
 Maritime, 13, 14, 32, 37, 60, 62, 85, 92,
 284; Bargaining, 189, 190, 195;
 Strikes, 17, 25, 214, 217
 Maritime Commission, 32
 Maritime Union, 217
 Marquette University, 162
 Maryland Drydock Co., 95 fnt.
 Massachusetts: Conciliation, 240; Per-
 mit cards, 109 fnt.
 Masters, Mates & Pilots, 54, 93
 Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen, 74
 Meat packing, 8, 13, 17, 34, 189
 Mechanics & Foremen, 93
 Medical care, *see* Benefit programs
 Membership restrictions, 84, 99-101,
 124, 161; *see also* Negroes, Appren-
 tices, Women, Political beliefs
 Metal mining, 18, 189-90, 280
 Metal trades, 13, 14, 15, 20, 32, 34, 77,
 189, 213, 280; Apprentices, 161;
 Councils, 82-3; Jurisdiction, 225;
 Membership rules, 88, 92-3; Names
 of unions, 47-8
 Metal Trades Department, 44, 46, 47,
 82, 83, 162
 Militia, 218; *see also* Federal troops
 Millinery, 2, 9, 189, 196
 Milwaukee Labor College, 165
 Mine, Mill & Smelter, 18, 62, 82, 190
 Miners' Union, National, 21, 215
 Mine workers, 4, 7, 13, 18, 23, 30, 34,
 60, 189, 190, 205, 236, 246, 280; Fore-
 men, 94; Strikes, 213-5, 218, 221, 252
 Mine Workers, United, 6, 10 fnt., 21,
 22, 24, 28 fnt., 29, 37, 61, 62, 68, 72,
 82, 96 fnt., 115, 174, 194, 215, 221,
 242 fnt.
 "Mixed" local, 5, 6, 75, 82
 Molders, 2, 195
 Motion picture, 189; *see also* Actors &
 Artistes, Stage Employees
 Motor transportation, 285; *see also*
 Truckdrivers, Street Railway
 Munitions, 221
 Musicians, 67 fnt., 115, 189

 National Association of Manufacturers,
 9, 16, 171
 National Founders' Association, 8
 National Grange, 16
 National Industrial Conference Board,
 15 fnt., 19 fnt., 20 fnt.
 National Industrial Recovery Act, 23-4,
 31, 38, 215
 National Labor Board, 24
 National Labor Relations Act, 26-7, 53
 fnt., 94, 187 fnt., 205, 212, 217, 223,
 241 fnt., 262
 National Labor Relations Board, 24
 fnt., 94-7, 192, 200, 205 fnt., 218, 221,
 244-6
 National Mediation Board, 48, 74, 75,
 226, 243-4; *see also* Railway Labor
 Act
 National Metal Trades' Association, 8
 National Recovery Administration, 25-
 26, 30
 National Textile Workers Union, 21
 National War Labor Board: (World
 War I) 12, 246, (World War II) 33,
 106, 194, 219, 221, 246-7
 Navy Department, 33
 Navy Wage Board of Review, 47
 Needle trades, *see* Clothing
 Needle Trades Industrial Union, 21,
 215
 Negroes, 16 fnt., 53, 84, 85 fnt., 110
 New Haven Labor College, 165
 Newspaper offices, 30, 69, 190, 216; *see
 also* Printing
 New York: Anti-discrimination, 90,
 Conciliation, 240, Labor Relations
 Board, 97, 240 fnt.
 Nonbeneficial membership, *see* Benefi-
 cial, A and B members
 Nonpartisan League, 29 fnt., 35
 Norris-LaGuardia Act, *see* Anti-Injun-
 ction Law
 Northrup, Herbert R., 86 fnt.

 Office & Professional Workers, 165; *see
 also* Professional workers
 Oil Workers, 165
 Old age, *see* Benefit programs, Retirement,
 Homes for aged
 Open shop, 16-8, 24, 263
 Organizers, 44, 52, 62, 67, 113-4, 151,
 161, 165, 179
 Organizing committee, 28, 51, 58, 76
 Out-of-work benefits, *see* Unemploy-
 ment
 Overtime, *see* Hours

 Packinghouse, *see* Meat packing
 Pacific Coast School, 168
 Packard Motor Car Co., 97 fnt.
 Painters, 3
 Painters, Decorators & Paperhangers,
 72, 89
 Pamphlets, *see* Publications
 Paper industry, 34, 62, 189, 190, 196,
 281
 Paper Makers Brotherhood, 74, 75,
 169 fnt.

- Penalties, *see* Fines
 Pensions, *see* Benefit programs
 Per capita taxes, 1, 43-51, 58, 119, 121, 126-46, 228
 Permit cards, 108-9, 124, 262
 Personnel officer, *see* Labor relations director
 Petroleum, 190, 281; *see also* Oil Workers
 Photo Engravers, 82, 184 fnt., 186, 225
 Picketing, 1, 30, 223, 264
 Plasterers & Cement Finishers, 75, 90
 Plastic, 37
 Plate Printers, 72
 Plumbers & Steamfitters, 88, 195
 Policemen, 211 fnt., 213
 Political Action Committee, 36, 175
 Political activities, 3, 29, 34-6, 38, 57, 86, 148, 153, 161, 173-4
 Political beliefs, 70, 85-6; *see also* Left-wing movements
 Postal unions, 7, 88, 92, 93, 279; *see also* Government workers
 Potters, 72, 194
 Pottery, 189, 236
 Powderly, Terence V., 5 fnt.
 Preferential shop, 205, 264
 Pressmen, 17 fnt., 73, 82, 163, 183 fnt., 184, 225
 Press services, 148; *see also* Publications
 Prices, *see* Cost of living, Business depression
 Princeton University, 178 fnt., 317 fnt.
 Printing, 1, 2, 6, 17, 18, 22, 34, 60, 69, 77, 82, 281; Bargaining, 189-90, 196; Foremen, 92; Jurisdiction, 225; Strikes, 214; Training and research, 161-2
 Probationary members, 101, 109
 Producers' co-operatives, 176
 Professional workers, 4, 25, 30, 34, 37, 120, 189, 190, 191, 216, 281
 Protocol agreement, 7
 Publicity, *see* Educational activities
 Public relations: Of business, 171, 193; Of unions, 160, 169-73
 Publications: AFL, 44, 49; CIO, 52; City centrals, 56; Distribution, 172, 174; General types, 147 ff.; Internationals, 59, 64-5, 114, 117, 118, 152-9, 174; Locals, 80, 116; PAC, 175; Pamphlets, 118, 166, 233
 Public Contracts Act, 31, 45, 207 fnt., 264, 265
 Public schools, 1, 160, 161, 169, 170; *see also* Educational activities
 Public utilities, 282; *see also* Telegraph & telephone
 Pulp, Sulphite & Paper Mill, 74
 Public Works, 3, 23, 32, 45, 264, 265
 Pullman strike, fnt. 8
 Quarrying, 190, 280
 "Quickie" strikes, *see* Unauthorized strikes
 Racial discrimination, *see* Negroes
 Radio, 25, 28, 72, 120 fnt., 165, 180, 189, 278
 Radio programs, 169, 171, 173, 175
 Railroad, 7, 10, 13, 14, 69, 104, 285; Bargaining, 189-91, 194; Brotherhoods, 29, 37, 41; Co-operation, 20; Disputes, 48, 74, 226, 243; Foremen, 92-3; Legislation, 22, 25; Negroes, 87-8; Political activities, 35, 174; Publications, 149; Type of organization, 52-3, 58, 77; Strikes, 4, 5, 8, 85 fnt., 214, 227 fnt.; *see also* National Mediation Board
 Railroad Labor Board, 214
 Railroad Retirement Act, 53 fnt., 180, 182
 Railroad shops, 49, 88, 190, 285
 Railroad Signalmen, 54
 Railroad Trainmen, 54, 75, 87, 186
 Railway Adjustment Board, 48, 243
 Railway Car Manufacturers, 14, 88, 282
 Railway Clerks, 88, 116, 179
 Railway Conductors, 54, 75, 87, 183 fnt.
 Railway Employees' Department, 44, 48-9, 52, 93
 Railway Labor Act, 22, 25, 53, 94, 187 fnt., 241 fnt., 243, 265
 Railway Labor Executives Association, 53-4, 194
 Railway Mail Association, 88, 90 fnt.
 Railway Supervisors, 93
 Rayon, 189; *see also* Chemicals, Textiles
 Recreation, 116-7; *see also* Welfare
 Reinstatement, 94 fnt., 102, 103, 107-8, 119
 Referendum, 63, 68, 69, 105, 114; For assessments, 122-3; For approval agreement, 199; For strikes, 227-8
 Republic Steel Corp., 97 fnt.
 Research, 42, 52, 59, 65, 68, 113-4, 148, 173, 202; *see also* Lawyers
 Resident schools, 167
 Retail, *see* Trade
 Retirement, 102, 107, 108
 Revenue Act, 118
 Reynolds & Killingsworth, 152 fnt.
 Rival unions, *see* Dual unionism, Jurisdiction
 Rocky Mountain Fuel & Iron Co., 21
 Roosevelt, President, 28, 29, 31, 219, 246
 Rubber, 25, 28, 30, 34, 37, 189, 216, 282

- Rubber Workers, 166, 217
 "Runaway" shops, 24, 266
 Rutgers University, 164
- Sabotage, 211, 266
 Safety, 153, 206, 209
 Salaries: International officers, 65, 114-116; General, 113; Local officers, 79, 116-7
 Scientific management, 9, 266, 267, 270
 Screen Actors, 110; *see also* Actors & Artistes
 Seamen, *see* Maritime
 Secondary strikes, 267; *see also* Sympathetic strikes
 Secretary of Labor, *see* Labor Department
 Seidman, Joel, 222 *ft.*
 Selective Training & Service Act, 112
 Seniority: Foremen, 91; Negroes, 87; Rules, 208, 260, 267; Veterans, 111
 Service trades, 190-1, 195, 196, 197-8, 205, 282
 Sharecroppers, 30; *see also* Agriculture
 Sheet Metal Workers, 75, 89, 225
 Sherman Anti-Trust Act, 9, 35, 224
 Shifts, 32, 207, 221, 234, 256, 257, 260, 266, 268, 269, 270, 271, 274
 Shipbuilding, 13, 34, 37, 47, 60, 189-90, 282; Foremen, 94; Strikes, 213, 221; *see also* Boilermakers, Marine and Shipbuilding
 Shipbuilding Stabilization Committee, 32
 Shoeworkers, 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 72, 74, 190
 "Shop cards," 197-8; *see also* Labels
 Shop chairman, 268; *see also* Stewards
 Sick benefits, *see* Benefit programs
 Sick leave, 207
 Siderographers, 60, 72, 82
 Sit-down strikes, 30, 212, 217, 222-5, 268
 Sleeping Car Porters, 88
 Slowdown, 211, 268, 269
 Smith Hughes Act, 160
 Social Security, *see* Federal social security
 Sole bargaining, 205-6, 252, 261, 268; *see also* National Labor Relations Act
 Southern Summer School for Workers, 168
 Speed-up, 9, 269; *see also* "Stretch-out"
 Spies, 16, 269
 Stage Employees, 67 *ft.*, 116, 189
 "Standard" agreement, 197, 269
 Stark, Louis, 224 *ft.*
 Starr, Mark, 165 *ft.*, 167 *ft.*, 171 *ft.*
 State Federations, 43-4, 54-5, 78, 119, 178; Publications, 148-9
 State legislation: Anti-discrimination, 90; Anti-injunction, 241; Conciliation, 240-3; Labor relations acts, 90, 200, 212, 240-2; Minimum wage and safety, 187; Permit cards, 109 *ft.*; Strike, 241; Union financial reports, 117 *ft.*; Workman's Compensation, 209
 Steel, 13, 15, 16, 30, 34, 37, 189-90, 194, 283; Strikes, 15-6, 213, 218
 Steelworkers, United, 60, 68, 72, 82, 115, 165, 218
 Stewards, 68, 77, 80, 100, 118, 151, 225, 269; Grievance adjustment, 232-3; Seniority, 208, 233; Training, 161, 165, 167, 170, 233
 Stone, 190, 283; Cutters, 99 *ft.*
 Street Railway, 14, 60, 186, 189, 190
 "Stretch-out," 216, 269
 Strike benefits, 1, 59, 64, 66, 227-30
 Strikebreakers, 16, 85, 104, 249, 270
 Strike definition, 211, 255, 269
 Structural Erectors' Association, 8
 Structural Iron Workers, 184, 225
 Sub-contracting, 32, 236, 254, 270
 Summer School for Office Workers, 168
 Supervisors, *see* Foremen
 Suspension, 43, 66, 77, 102 *ft.*
 Sweatshop, 4
 Switchmen, 75, 87
 Sympathetic strikes, 5, 14, 83, 216, 257, 270
 Syndicalism, 13, 223, 270; *see also* Left-wing movement
 "System federations," 48
- Taft, Philip, 70 *ft.*
 Tailors, 1, 3, 4
 Taylor, Frederick, 9, 270
 Teachers, 166, 278; *see also* Government, Professional workers
 Teamsters Brotherhood, 61, 68, 74, 82, 116, 195; *see also* Truckdrivers
 Technology, 19, 20, 162, 215, 271
 Telegraph & telephone, 88, 189, 190, 213, 278
 Tennessee Valley Authority, 188 *ft.*
 Textiles, 7, 13, 24, 72, 82, 190, 283; Strikes, 4, 20, 21, 214-5
 Textile Workers, National Union of, 21, 215
 Textile Workers Union, 57 *ft.*, 62, 165; Bargaining, 195; Foremen, 93; Housing, 176; Insurance, 180
 Textile Workers, United, 25, 72
 Theaters, 189, 278; *see also* Actors & Artistes, Stage employees
 Time magazine, 175 *ft.*

- Tobacco, 189, 284; *see also* Cannery, Cigar Makers
- Trade associations, *see* Employer associations
- Trade (Retail and Wholesale), 30, 37, 60, 72, 189-90, 195-6, 197-8, 205, 216, 284
- Trade Union Unity League, 21
- Train Dispatchers, 54, 88
- Transfer: Membership, 102, 107 ff.
- Transportation, 14, 22, 34, 37, 191, 195, 284; *see also* Railroad, Maritime, Street railway
- Transport Service Employees, 88
- Transport Workers Union, 75, 166
- Traveling cards, 107
- Traveling expenses, 63, 113
- Truckdrivers, 14, 25, 60, 77, 189-90, 196, 205; Motor Carriers Act, 262
- Typographical, 2, 17 fnt., 70, 73, 82, 163, 183 fnt., 186; *see also* Printing
- Umpire, 271; *see also* Arbitration
- Unauthorized strikes, 123, 224, 227, 258, 265
- Unemployment, 19, 149, 215, 271; Benefits, 122-3, 180; Cyclical, 254; Retention of membership, 111; *see also* Business depression, Social security
- Unfair labor practices, 272; *see also* National Labor Relations Act, National Mediation Board, State legislation
- Union Collieries Coal Co., 95 fnt.
- Union discrimination, 101; *see also* Membership restrictions
- Union Health Center, 181
- Union Labor Life Insurance Co., 183
- Union literature, *see* Publications
- Union-management co-operation: Agreement administration, 196, 231-8; Apprentices, 98; Benefit programs, 180-2; Building, 225; Clothing, 7, 20; Grievance adjustment, 231-6; Miners, 21; Production, 32-3, 272; Railroads, 20; Safety, 209; Vocational training, 170 fnt.
- Union shop, 204-5, 218, 253, 262, 272; *see also* Closed shop
- Union stewards, *see* Stewards
- U. S. Coal Commission, 214
- U. S. Conciliation Service, 237, 239-40, 246
- U. S. Shipping Board, 17, 214
- U. S. Steel Corp., 8, 15 fnt., 16, 218
- Upholsterers, 165, 180
- Vertical union, 74, 273; *see also* Industrial unionism
- Veterans, 111-2
- Violence, 4, 9, 218
- Vocational training, *see* Apprentices, Educational activities
- Wage brackets, 273; *see also* Wage Stabilization
- Wage incentives, 9, 206, 232, 236, 248, 250, 251, 254, 257, 258, 261, 263, 264, 265, 269, 270, 271
- Wage plans and provisions, 206, 250, 251, 255, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266; Annual, 248, 257
- Wage Stabilization, 33, 219, 238 fnt., 247, 273
- Wall Paper Craftsmen, 195
- War Department, 14, 33
- War Labor Conference Board, 12
- War Labor Disputes Act, 36 fnt., 175 fnt., 221, 247, 249, 273
- War Manpower Commission, 31, 32
- War Production Board, 31, 32
- Water transportation, *see* Maritime
- Weavers, 2
- Welders, 225
- Welfare activities, 9, 19, 20, 182, 274; *see also* Benefit programs
- Western Federation of Miners, 18; *see also* Metal mining
- Wholesale, *see* Trade
- Wildcat strikes, 123, 224, 227, 274
- Wire Weavers, 72, 195
- Wisconsin Employment Peace Act, 90, 241 fnt.
- Wisconsin School for Workers, 168
- Withdrawal card, 108, 111; *see also* Retirement
- Women, 84, 85, 207 fnt.; Auxiliaries, 110
- Women's Trade Union League, 164
- Workers' education, *see* Educational activities
- Workers Education Bureau, 164
- Workers' summer schools, 168
- Work loads, 9, 209, 216, 221, 256, 257, 274
- Workman's Compensation, 209, 274; *see also* Benefit programs
- Work permits, 89, 108-9, 124
- Work rules, 58; In agreements, 208-9, 231
- World labor movement, 37-9
- Works Project Administration, 165
- Yale University, 165
- Yardmasters, 53, 75
- "Yellow dog" contracts, 22, 241, 275
- Vacation provisions, 207